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Anniversary of the Settlement
of the Jews in the
United States



COMMEMORATORY MEDAL

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The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States

1655 1905

Addresses delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Thanksgiving Day MCMV

Together with other selected addresses and proceedings.

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THE NEW YORK CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

PREFACE

The success of the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in America, and the valuable contributions to American Jewish history that it has occasioned, have induced the Executive Committee to preserve and reproduce in more permanent form a number of typical addresses, communications, and editorial writings, selected from the great mass of interesting and instructive material, remarkable for its excellence both as to matter and literary quality, called forth by the hundreds of public meetings held in the latter days of November, 1905, in conformity with the recommendations of the Committee. To publish all would require many volumes of huge bulk. It has, therefore, become necessary to resort to an arbitrary rule of selection. Obviously, the proceedings held at Carnegie Hall, in the City of New York, on Thanksgiving Day, being national in scope, constitute the nucleus of the compilation. Around these have been grouped a few of the many addresses delivered at such old or important centers of Jewish population as Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, Albany, and San Francisco. That circumstances have rendered any omissions necessary is a source of sincere regret.

It may not be inappropriate to briefly sketch the history of the movement whose culmination has been

the source of universal gratification, and will, it is hoped, lead to a better understanding of the American Jew as an element in our population, not only by the public generally, but by the Jew himself.

On February 27th, 1905, the Board of Trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel of New York, the oldest Jewish congregation in the United States, appointed a general committee of the congregation to consider the propriety of celebrating the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Jewish community in New York. This committee invited the officers of various Jewish congregations and charities to attend a public meeting at the vestry rooms of the synagogue on Sunday, April 9th, 1905. Concurrently, the American Jewish Historical Society at its thirteenth annual meeting held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on February 28th, 1905, had instructed its Executive Council to coöperate with other organizations in the proper commemoration of the event. At the public meeting in New York, Louis Marshall, Esq., presiding, and Hon. N. Taylor Phillips acting as secretary, it was unanimously resolved, upon motion of Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, " that a Committee of Fifteen be appointed by the chairman of this meeting to make arrangements for a celebration at some time during the present year of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the foundation of the Jewish community in the City of New York, and for the establishment of a permanent memorial of that important historic event, such Committee to have full power to carry such arrangements into effect, and to increase its number, if deemed advisable." The chairman and

secretary were added as members of this committee. It was the sense of the meeting that the celebration should be national in scope, as commemorating the first officially authorized settlement of Jews within the present limits of the United States, and that the particular event to be commemorated be the grant of official leave of settlement, dated April 26th, 1655, from the Dutch West India Company, though it would probably be most convenient to hold the celebration in the fall. The text of this grant reads as follows:

"26th of April, 1655.

"We would have liked to agree to your wishes and request that the new territories should not be further invaded by people of the Jewish race, for we foresee from such immigration the same difficulties which you fear, but after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe that it would be unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by the Jews in the taking of Brazil, and also because of the large amount of capital which they have invested in shares of this company. After many consultations we have decided and resolved upon a certain petition made by said Portuguese Jews, that they shall have permission to sail to and trade in New Netherland and to live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community, but be supported by their own nation. You will govern yourself accordingly."

The chairman of the meeting thereupon appointed the following Executive Committee: Jacob H. Schiff, chairman; Dr. Cyrus Adler, Hon. Samuel Greenbaum, Daniel Guggenheim, Prof. Jacob H. Hollander, Max

J. Kohler, Hon. Edward Lauterbach, Adolph Lewisohn, Louis Marshall, Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, William Salomon, Isaac N. Seligman, Louis Stern, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, and Hon. Mayer Sulzberger. The committee organized by the appointment of Mr. Schiff as chairman, Mr. Seligman as treasurer, and Mr. Kohler as honorary secretary. A General Committee, composed of representative Jews residing in every State and Territory of the United States, was subsequently constituted, their names appearing *post* (p. 258).

Arrangements were in due time made to hold a public celebration at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on November 30th (Thanksgiving Day), 1905, and to recommend holding commemoratory religious services on the Saturday and Sunday before Thanksgiving Day in the various synagogues and Sabbath schools throughout the land. A special order of service was prepared under the auspices of the committee for use at the synagogues, including a special prayer for the occasion, which is to be found *post* (p. 253).

Such religious services were held, the various congregational Unions and Rabbinical Conferences joining in the Executive Committee's recommendation. Appropriate exercises were also held on or about Thanksgiving Day under the auspices of various Jewish lodges, Young Men's Hebrew Associations, sections of the Council of Jewish Women, Jewish Chautauqua circles, and orphan asylums, and in a number of instances, general local celebrations of an impressive character were also held.

The Executive Committee also distributed literature bearing on the celebration among individuals likely to be interested, including a pamphlet (*see reprint in Appendix*) prepared for it, entitled "Notes Relating to the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States," and a reprint of the article prepared by Dr. Cyrus Adler for Volume I of the "Jewish Encyclopedia" on the history of the Jews in America.

The erection of a suitable memorial of the event celebrated was likewise planned. A fund of upward of $100,000 was to be collected by voluntary subscriptions from the Jews of the United States to defray the cost, but this plan was abandoned by resolution of the Executive Committee, adopted November 12th, 1905, after a considerable sum had been collected, because "the demands on the generosity of the Jews of America, necessitated by the horrors resulting from the recent massacres in Russia, make it imperative that every energy be directed to the immediate relief of the distress of our unfortunate brethren there," and it was feared that funds might be diverted to this Memorial Fund, which might otherwise go to the Russian Relief Fund.

It was, however, decided that plans, previously approved, for the publication and distribution of a popular "History of the Jews in the United States," to be issued with the coöperation of the Jewish Publication Society of America and the American Jewish Historical Society, should be carried out, and that this volume of proceedings should also be issued,

funds for this purpose having been contributed from all parts of the country.

An anonymous donor has generously placed at the disposal of the committee the means for defraying the cost of an appropriate commemoratory medal (*see Frontispiece*), designed and modeled by the distinguished Jewish sculptor, Isidore Konti, which is to symbolize the ideals embodied in this anniversary. This medal, it is hoped, will be completed during the spring of 1906.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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EXERCISES IN CELEBRATION OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1655–1905

CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK CITY, THANKSGIVING DAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1905

PROGRAMME

1. OVERTURE . . . *Mendelssohn*
   "March of Priests" from "Athalie"

2. PRAYER . . . . . .
   Reverend Joseph Silverman, D.D.
   Rabbi Temple Emanu-El, New York City

3. CHORUS . . . . *Mendelssohn*
   From Oratorio "Elijah"
   "He, watching over Israel, slumbers not, nor sleeps. Shouldst thou, walking in grief, languish, He will quicken thee."

4. INTRODUCTION . . . .
   Jacob H. Schiff, Esq.
   Chairman of the Executive Committee

5. ADDRESS . . . . . .
   Honorable Grover Cleveland

6. KOL NIDRE . . . . . *Bruch*

Solo Violoncello, Mr. Leo Schulz

7. ADDRESS . . . . . .

Honorable Frank W. Higgins

Governor of the State of New York

8. ADDRESS . . . . . .

Honorable George B. McClellan

Mayor of the City of New York

9. LARGO . . . . . *Handel*

For Chorus, String Orchestra, Harp and Organ

Solo Violin, Mr. David Mannes

"Trust in the Lord,
His name we ever bless
In grief and happiness
With one accord.
He ordered all our ways,
To Him ascend our lays
In praise and pray'r:
Until our journey's end,
O Lord, our souls defend
With watchful care."

10. ORATION . . . . . .

Honorable Mayer Sulzberger

11. CHORUS . . . . . *Mendelssohn*

"Thanks be to God," from "Elijah"

"Thanks be to God, He laveth the thirsty land. The waters gather, they rush along! They are lifting their voices! The stormy billows are high, their fury is mighty; but the Lord is above them, and Almighty."

12. ADDRESS . . . . . .

The Right Reverend David H. Greer, D.D.

Bishop Coadjutor of New York

13. ADDRESS . . . . . .

Reverend H. Pereira Mendes, D.D.

Rabbi Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, New York City

14. ADON OLAM . . . . .

Downtown Cantors' Association of New York

(To be sung in Hebrew. The English translation is as follows:)

Lord over all! Whose power the scepter swayed,
  Ere first Creation's wondrous form was framed,
When by His will divine all things were made;
  Then, King, Almighty was His name proclaimed.

When all shall cease—the universe be o'er,
  In awful greatness He alone will reign,
Who was, Who is, and Who will evermore
  In glory most refulgent still remain.

Sole God! unequaled and beyond compare,
  Without division or associate;
Without commencing date, or final year,
  Omnipotent He reigns in awful state.

He is my God! my living Saviour He!
  My sheltering Rock in sad misfortune's hour!
My standard, refuge, portion, still shall be,
  My lot's disposer when I seek His power.

Into His hands my spirit I consign
  Whilst wrapped in sleep, that I again may wake
And with my soul, my body I resign;
  The Lord's with me—no fears my soul can shake.

15. CHORUS AND AUDIENCE . .

"My Country! 'tis of thee"

1

My country! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
  Of thee I sing:
Land, where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side
  Let freedom ring!

2

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
  Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
  Like that above.

3

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song:
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

4

Our fathers' God! to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing:
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us with Thy might,
Great God, our King.

16. BENEDICTION . . . . .

Reverend RUDOLPH GROSSMAN, D.D.
Rabbi Congregation Rodeph Sholom, New York City

A letter from the President of the United States will be read in the course of the proceedings.

The musical programme is in charge of Dr. Frank Damrosch, assisted by members of the People's Choral Union, who have most courteously volunteered their services, and by the New York Symphony Orchestra. Mr. Frank L. Sealy at the organ.

OPENING PRAYER BY REV. DR. JOSEPH SILVERMAN

Almighty Father, source of light and life, we revere Thee as the Providence that guides the affairs of man and the destinies of nations. Thou sendest forth Thy ministers to destroy what is false and evil and to plant what is true and good.

Throughout the ages Thou hast been the Guardian of Israel, who sleepest not, nor slumberest—a pillar of cloud to lead them by day and a pillar of fire to show them the way at night. In the dark days of bondage, of wanderings and exile, of servitude under foreign masters, Thou hast ever been Israel's comfort, prop and hope.

Our forefathers labored and struggled for conviction and faith. We have received the heritage of Israel and shall bravely bear all trials in the service of truth and justice. But not unto us is the glory; Thine, O Lord, are the power, the glory, and the majesty.

We thank Thee with deep-felt gratitude, that Thou hast cast our lot in pleasant places, that Thou didst guide our ancestors to this land of liberty, and didst prosper them in the days of yore.

We thank Thee for America, this haven of refuge for the oppressed of the world. We thank Thee for the blessings of a permanent home in this country, its opportunities for development of life and advancement of mind and heart, for its independence and unity, its free institutions, the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We reverently bow be-

fore Thy decree, which has taught us to find enduring peace and security in the sure foundation of this blessed land.

Here we have established our habitations and tabernacles, here we have erected our synagogues and homes for the needy, the orphans and widows, the sick and forlorn, and we fervently pray that we may be permitted to abide here forever in prosperity and in amity with all the people of the land.

Mindful of all the blessings we enjoy in this land, we are grateful unto Thee for the contrast presented to-day between the country of freedom and the country of Russian slavery—between this nation of justice and peace and the Eastern land of tyranny and destruction.

We pray unto Thee, the Ruler of nations, to spread Thy wings of protection over our common country. Bless the President and his counselors and the magistrates and legislators of the nation, and of every state and city in the Union. Keep far from our beloved land the ravages of sword, fire, flood, and pestilence. May no foe from within or without threaten its peace and integrity. May this land advance toward ever higher planes of truth and justice to the end that America may become the bearer of peace to all the nations of the world.

We pray also for our suffering brethren who, in a distant land, are passing through the fire that consumeth and the water that overwhelmeth. Stay the hand of the oppressor, dull the edge of the sword, and divert the course of the deadly weapon. Send forth Thy ministering angels to heal the afflicted and bind

up the broken-hearted. And let all men learn and practice the wise teaching, to love the Lord their God with all their heart and soul and might, and to love their fellow-men as themselves. Speed the time, O God, when all men shall believe the truth and shall practice what they profess. Amen.

INTRODUCTION BY JACOB H. SCHIFF

When some months since it was decided to celebrate the settlement of Jews in the United States, and in this very city, two hundred and fifty years ago, the people of the Jewish faith throughout the land felt glad and proud, because this beloved country of their adoption had become the great exponent of human liberties and of freedom of conscience, furnishing an example to the world how great and powerful a people can become, who give equal opportunity to all, no matter what their origin or their profession of faith may be. But our gladness has received a shock, our hopes and expectations have for the time being become dispelled. The brotherhood of man, our prophets have taught us to look forward to, still remains a dream, the realization of which the events of this very month have once more removed into the distant future. Racial prejudice and hatred are still rampant; the Jew still remains the martyr, whose life must be sacrificed, so that freedom and enlightenment, for which he has ever battled, shall triumph even in darkest Russia.

But though we sorrow, we feel we should rejoice and celebrate, because America did become in centuries gone by the home of people of our race and faith, and is now our own home and the home of our children.

Indeed, I am grateful for the honor, which has so graciously been bestowed upon me, to preside over this celebration; and before I exercise the great privilege to present to you the honored speakers of the

day, I ask to be permitted to give expression in a few words to the feelings which animate us upon this momentous occasion.

When, in 1655, two hundred and fifty years ago, people of our race and faith first set foot upon these shores to become permanent settlers, hardly a century and a half had passed since Columbus had unlocked the gates of this hemisphere to the civilized world. Thus the heritage which the great Genoese presented to mankind was availed of by our own people at so early a period of the development of the New World that we believe we are justified in the claim that this is our country, to a like extent as it has become the country of other early and later comers, in common with whom we have built this great nation, of which we now form part and parcel.

Look at the record of the wonderful and glorious progress and development of our country, and upon every page will be found the name of the Jew as having rendered meritorious and patriotic service. Not that we claim that the Jewish citizen has at any time done more than his simple duty; but in the attempt, so frequently made, to consider us a foreign element, it is well and proper, upon an occasion like the present, to emphasize the fact that two hundred and fifty years ago, and ever since, the Jew who has landed on these shores has come to this country to throw his lot with its people, to share their burdens, to benefit by their opportunities, to become an American, in the best meaning of this proud title and all it stands for.

And having said this, we may add that, as Jews, we

are ever mindful of the untold blessing which the fact, that the beacon light of human liberty and freedom is kept burning brightly by the people of the United States, brings not only to those of their race whose good fortune it is to be among the dwellers within this blessed land, but even to their brethren in faith in foreign lands, who still suffer under restrictions unworthy of modern civilization—and who, I must sorrowfully add, in the light of recent events, are still made the victims of the lowest human passions and prejudice. Because of this great blessing the United States is bestowing upon mankind, the Jew everywhere is an ardent admirer of America and her people, and everywhere his face is set longingly and hopefully toward these shores.

We who *are* Americans pledge ourselves anew, upon this momentous occasion, to our fellow-citizens, from whatever race they may have sprung or whatever faith they may profess, that we shall ever stand ready to be one with them in every endeavor to further augment the greatness of this, our beloved common country, and the respect in which it is held throughout the world.

I now have the honor to present to you one who is foremost among the great statesmen this country has produced; one who, you will all agree with me, unites in himself all the qualities which go to make up the type of the ideal American, a man to whom we willingly look for guidance and emulation—

Ex-President Grover Cleveland.

ADDRESS BY EX-PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: Among the large enterprises and undertakings which have become familiar to the people of the United States, there may be mentioned the extravagant celebration, especially in these latter days, of all sorts of anniversaries and events. Many of these undoubtedly tend to the improvement and stimulation of patriotic sentiment. But there is good reason to believe that others have no better justification than the indulgence of local pride or the furtherance of narrow and selfish interests.

We join to-day in " the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States." This event created such an important epoch in our country's development, and its relationship to our nation's evolution is so clearly seen in the light of present conditions, that every thoughtful American citizen must recognize the fitness and usefulness of its commemoration. To those of the Jewish faith it recalls a foothold gained, that meant for them a home and peaceful security, after centuries of homelessness and ruthless persecution. To those of us professing a different religious faith, it brings to mind the landing upon our soil of an element of population whose wonderful increase and marked traits of character have added a powerful factor to our national progress and achievement. All nationalities have contributed to the composite population of the United States—many of them in greater

number than the Jews. And yet I believe that it can be safely claimed that few, if any, of those contributing nationalities have directly and indirectly been more influential in giving shape and direction to the Americanism of to-day. What our Jewish fellow-citizens have done to increase the material advancement of the United States is apparent on every hand and must stand confessed. But the best and highest Americanism is something more than materialistic. Its spirit, which should make it imperishable and immortal, exists in its patriotic aspirations and exalting traditions. On this higher plain of our nationality, and in the atmosphere of ennobling sentiment, we also feel the touch of Jewish relationship. If the discovery of America prophesied the coming of our nation and fixed the place of its birth, let us not forget that Columbus, on his voyage in search of a new world, was aided in a most important way by Jewish support and comradeship. If the people of the United States glory in their free institutions as the crown of man's aspiration for self-government, let them not be unmindful of the fact that the Jews among us have in their care and keeping the history and traditions of an ancient Jewish commonwealth astonishingly like our own Republic in its democracy and underlying intention. This ancient commonwealth was ordained of God for the government of His chosen people; and we should not close our minds to a conception of the coincidence in divine purpose discoverable in the bestowal, by the Ruler of the universe, of a similar plan of rule, after thousands of years, upon the people of the United States, who also

had their beginning in willing submission to God's sovereignty, and the assertion of freedom in His worship. When with true American enthusiasm and pride we recall the story of the war for our independence, and rejoice in the indomitable courage and fortitude of our Revolutionary heroes, we should not fail to remember how well the Jews of America performed their part in the struggle and how in every way they usefully and patriotically supported the interests of their newly found home. Nor can we overlook, if we are decently just, the valuable aid cheerfully contributed by our Jewish fellow-countrymen in every national emergency that has since overtaken us. They gave convincing evidence of their assimilation of the best sentiment of American patriotism by heartily joining in the popular acclaim that met the selection of Washington as the first President of our new Republic. In support of this statement it certainly cannot be amiss to quote the following passages from a letter addressed to General Washington after his election to the presidency, by the Hebrew congregation in Newport, Rhode Island:

"Deprived as we hitherto have been of the inalienable rights of free citizens, we now, with a deep sense of gratitude to the almighty Disposer of all events, behold a government erected by the majesty of the people, a government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance, but generously affording to all liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship, deeming every one, of whatever nation, tongue, and language, equal parts of the great government machine.

"This so ample and extensive Federal Union, whose base is philanthropy, mutual confidence, and public virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the great God who rules in the armies of the heavens and among the inhabitants of the earth, doing whatever seemeth to Him good."

These expressions, besides bearing on the hearty participation of our Jewish fellow-citizens in the patriotic sentiments of the time, illustrate how thoroughly they appreciated the new opportunities and the new security offered to them by a free, just, and popular government.

And thus it happened that the Jewish immigrants who were driven to our colonies by religious persecution, and their descendants, have, under the kindly influence of toleration and equality, coöperated in nation-building with those of different religious faiths, whose ancestors, or they themselves, had also sought, amid hard and inhospitable surroundings, freedom to worship God. Jewish patriotism, which had been for centuries submerged and smothered in homeless wanderings and nationless existence, in the more cheerful light and warmth of a safe abiding place, sprang up and flourished. It has been said: "If you persecute, you make slaves; only by declaring equal rights for all will you make good citizens." The rule that equality in right is essential to good citizenship has never been better supported than by the result of according equal rights to the Jews who found a home on the soil of the United States.

I do not overlook the fact that the full enjoyment by the Jews of religious and industrial freedom was

not without restraint or limitation at the time of their first arrival. Nor am I in the least inclined to claim that Jewish characteristics or the Jewish religion is, or ever had been, absolutely preventive of bad men and bad citizens. It cannot be denied, however, that with even the limited equality of rights at first accorded to the Jews by the American colonies, their loyalty and effective patriotism when needed were not wanting.

We have to-day only to look about us to discover that, in every phase of present American enterprise and effort, the Jews of the United States, with unrestricted toleration and equality, are making their impress more and more deep and permanent upon our citizenship. They accumulate wealth without exhibiting or encouraging harmful extravagance and business recklessness. They especially care for their poor, but they do it sensibly, and in a way that avoids pauper-making. On every side are seen monuments of their charitable work, and evidences of their determination to furnish their children and youth equipment for usefulness and self-support. It is not among them that dangerous discontent and violent demonstrations against peace and order are hatched and fostered. There may be something of separateness in their social life among us, but this should be naturally expected among those who are not altogether free from the disposition born of persecution and the loss of nationality, to seek in a common devotion to their peculiar religious creed the strongest bond of their social fellowships. And yet, with it all, they are by no means laggards in the civic duty and the work in

behalf of the general welfare of the state, which are the badges of good citizenship.

It is time for the unreserved acknowledgment that the toleration and equal opportunity accorded to the Jews of the United States have been abundantly repaid to us. And in making up the accounts, let us not omit to put to their credit the occasion presented to us through our concession to them of toleration and equality, for strengthening, by wholesome exercise, the spirit of broad-minded justice and consideration, which, as long as we are true to ourselves, we must inflexibly preserve as the distinguishing and saving traits of our nationality.

I know that human prejudice—especially that growing out of race or religion—is cruelly inveterate and lasting. But wherever in the world prejudice against the Jews still exists, there can be no place for it among the people of the United States, unless they are heedless of good faith, recreant to the underlying principles of their free government, and insensible to every pledge involved in our boasted equality of citizenship.

Roger Williams, the pioneer of religious liberty in America, expressed the fear, long before the United States became a nation, that England and the other nations had a score to pay to the Jews, and he added these words: "I desire not the liberty to myself which I would not freely and impartially weigh out to all the consciences of the world beside." Our nation will have no score to pay to the Jews. As a people we shall never suffer the humiliation of appealing to them for favors with the shamefacedness of intol-

erance unforgotten and unforgiven. The Jews of the United States have become our fellow-citizens, and, like us, have at heart the prosperity and safety of our common country—forasmuch as we have desired not that liberty to ourselves which we would not freely and impartially weigh out to all the consciences of the world beside.

After all it comes to this: We celebrate an event in the history of our country fraught with important results, and deeply concerning us all as citizens of the United States. In the spirit of true Americanism let us all rejoice in the good which the settlement we commemorate has brought to the nation in which we all find safety and protection; and, uninterrupted by differences in religious faith, let us, under the guidance of the genius of Toleration and Equality, here consecrate ourselves more fully than ever to united and devoted labor in the field of our common nation's advancement and exaltation.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

WASHINGTON, *November* 16, 1905.

MY DEAR SIR: I am forced to make a rule not to write letters on the occasion of any celebration, no matter how important, simply because I cannot write one without either committing myself to write hundreds of others or else running the risk of giving offense to worthy persons. I make an exception in this case because the lamentable and terrible suffering to which so many of the Jewish people in other lands have been subjected, makes me feel it my duty, as the head of the American people, not only to express my deep sympathy for them, as I now do, but at the same time to point out what fine qualities of citizenship have been displayed by the men of Jewish faith and race, who, having come to this country, enjoy the benefits of free institutions and equal treatment before the law. I feel very strongly that if any people are oppressed anywhere, the wrong inevitably reacts in the end on those who oppress them; for it is an immutable law in the spiritual world that no one can wrong others and yet in the end himself escape unhurt.

The celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States properly emphasizes a series of historical facts of more than merely national significance. Even in our colonial period the Jews participated in the upbuilding of this country, acquired citizenship, and took an active part in the development of foreign and domestic commerce. During the Revolutionary period they aided the cause of liberty by serving in the

Continental army, and by substantial contributions to the empty treasury of the infant Republic. During the Civil War, thousands served in the armies and mingled their blood with the soil for which they fought. I am glad to be able to say, in addressing you on this occasion, that while the Jews of the United States, who now number more than a million, have remained loyal to their faith and their race traditions, they have become indissolubly incorporated in the great army of American citizenship, prepared to make all sacrifice for the country, either in war or peace, and striving for the perpetuation of good government and for the maintenance of the principles embodied in our Constitution. They are honorably distinguished by their industry, their obedience to law, and their devotion to the national welfare. They are engaged in generous rivalry with their fellow-citizens of other denominations in advancing the interests of our common country. This is true not only of the descendants of the early settlers and those of American birth, but of a great and constantly increasing proportion of those who have come to our shores within the last twenty-five years as refugees reduced to the direst straits of penury and misery. All Americans may well be proud of the extraordinary illustration of the wisdom and strength of our governmental system thus afforded. In a few years, men and women hitherto utterly unaccustomed to any of the privileges of citizenship have moved mightily upward toward the standard of loyal, self-respecting American citizenship; of that citizenship which not merely insists upon its rights, but also eagerly recognizes its duty

to do its full share in the material, social, and moral advancement of the nation.

With all good wishes, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

JACOB H. SCHIFF, ESQ., *Chairman.*

TELEGRAM FROM VICE-PRESIDENT FAIRBANKS

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 30, 1905.

HON. JACOB H. SCHIFF, 965 *Fifth Avenue, New York:*

MY DEAR MR. SCHIFF: I greatly regret my inability to participate with you to-day in celebrating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Jews in America. The event is one which we may all take pleasure in observing with appropriate ceremony, for the Jewish people have contributed and are contributing their full measure to our national growth and strength. They are enamored of our institutions and are a part of that loyal, intelligent, conservative citizenship which constitutes the stay and support of the great Republic. Our hearts are filled with gratitude in this hour of national thanksgiving that Jew and Gentile enjoy absolute political equality, and dwell together in amity and good fellowship throughout the limits of the United States. Here they entertain for each other a high degree of respect and good will, and rejoice in their common national inheritance. They are alike profoundly touched by the atrocities inflicted upon the Jews in Russia. They are moved by a common fraternal impulse to make their protest against this master crime of modern times, and send their aid and sympathy to those in sore distress. I entertain the confident hope that the Jews in America may continue to enjoy the fullest possible measure of

prosperity and happiness, and that freedom in our common country may forever continue to bless both Jew and Gentile.

Very respectfully yours,

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.

It affords me great pleasure to be present to-day, to congratulate you upon this significant celebration and to testify to my appreciation of the services rendered to civilization by the American Jew. Birthdays and anniversaries are worth keeping only as they mark growth and progress. Mere growing old in men and nations brings but the pathetic recollection of departed glories. Our Jewish fellow-citizens have a right to boast that under the protecting shield of equal rights they have taken no steps backward in the long and weary years that have rolled by since they first obtained from the Dutch West India Company " permission to sail and to trade in New Netherlands, and to live and remain there." Since that noteworthy grant of privilege, the Jews have fled from edicts of exclusion, from despotism and persecution, from poverty, misery, and social degradation, to the shores of America and found here a refuge where the rights of man are determined not by his race or religion, but by his honesty, industry, and character. Spaniard and Portuguese, Pole and Russian, English and German, have come to obtain the blessings of freedom and to give in return a loyal support to our institutions and strength to their new country. In this free atmosphere, all that a man can fairly ask or receive is a man's chance in the struggle for existence. The man who can toil, who can make present sacrifices for future gain, who can practice thrift until he can afford to be liberal, who can emancipate himself from " those twin jailers of the human

race, low birth and iron fortune," will leave behind in the race for success the lover of ease and pleasure, the man with his eye on the clock, the spendthrift and the sport.

To be poor, wretched, and miserable is to our civilization either a misfortune or a disgrace, not, as in lands of privilege and class distinction, a necessary evil. As every soldier in Napoleon's army carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack, so in America every self-respecting citizen aspires to financial independence and political and social honors.

It is not to be wondered at that the Jews, with their marvelous history of intellectual achievement, with their natural moral strength, with their philanthropic and charitable impulses, have flourished and waxed great in this quarter millennium of abundant opportunity.

We cherish a just and proper pride of ancestry. The New England Society, the Holland Society, and other associations formed to honor the pioneer fathers, serve a useful purpose. Our religious denominations teach in many ways the lesson of serving God. But in America we have no place for him who is prouder of his foreign descent than of his own Americanism, nor for him to whom religion means intolerance and self-satisfied isolation from his fellow-men of differing faith. Loyal as we may be to fatherland and mother church, we owe our first and firmest allegiance to the flag which is the symbol of our great and common country. This nation cannot long endure if our citizens consider only their opportunities, and forget their obligations to the state and their fellow-men.

In these days of greed and the lust of gain, when man too often struggles to heap up riches with little heed to the restraints of moral or civil law, when success seems to justify the means, when respect for the rights of others and regard for the feelings of others give place to a sordid selfishness, we must not forget that a nation can be great and noble only as its people are a great and noble people, and that the character of a nation is determined by the characters of those it honors.

The Jew has cheerfully accepted the moral obligation imposed on all who seek the benefit of American citizenship. Not only in financial circles, but also in military and civil life, in science, art, literature, and the learned professions he has served his adopted country with fidelity and zeal.

Proud of his descent from Moses and the prophets and the lawgivers of old, he has an equal pride in his American citizenship. As his ancestral religion teaches him the obligations of the ancient domestic virtues, so his citizenship teaches him the duties of service to the state and to his fellow-men. We may safely place on his shoulders the responsibility for handing down unimpaired, to his children and his children's children, the priceless heritage of American liberty.

ADDRESS BY MAYOR McCLELLAN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: If the Pilgrim Fathers, whose advent we commemorate, were to return to us, they would not be surprised at the wonderful progress made and the position attained by their children, but they would be astounded at the marvelous increase in the numbers of their coreligionists in the United States, and especially in the city of New York.

It is fitting that, as the mayor of the largest single municipality on earth, and especially as the chief magistrate of the largest single Jewish community that the world has ever seen, I should be with you to-day to express to you on behalf not only of my seven hundred thousand Jewish fellow-citizens, but on behalf of my four millions of fellow-citizens of all races and creeds, their sincere congratulations and good wishes, their satisfaction for what you have accomplished in the past and are accomplishing in the present, and their hope for what, side by side in unity with other races and creeds, you will accomplish for the United States in the future.

There are those who sincerely fear that if the enormous immigration of non-English-speaking peoples is permitted to continue, it will menace the very institutions of our country. I do not share that fear. The United States needs a vastly greater population for its development, and can easily support half a billion people properly distributed.

We members of the Caucasian family are very much like one another, without regard to what branch of

that family we may belong. Deny a man the ordinary human rights of life, liberty, and happiness, forbid him to worship God in his own way, deprive him of the possibility of an education, harry him, worry him, oppress him, persecute him, and it is small wonder if the brute in him dominates the man. Can you blame him if, upon his first taste of freedom, he confounds license with liberty? Can we blame him if, upon his first glimpse of freedom, he is inclined to follow the teachings of the first demagogue who preaches anarchy, and who promises Utopia at the expense of existing law and order? Hunger and ignorance cover a multitude of sins.

But give that man the right to work out his salvation in his own way, to worship God as he pleases; protect him in the enjoyment of his rights as a man; give him the rudiments of an education, give him the possibility of earning a man's wage for a man's work; and whether he comes from the mountains of Galicia, the steppes of Russia, or the purlieus of Whitechapel, you will find that the good red blood in him pulsates in the heart of a man made in God's image.

Every man who comes to this country, groping, however blindly, for the light of freedom, struggling, however impotently, for the betterment of his condition and the uplifting of his soul, has in him the making of a good citizen of our country, if we only do our duty by him.

There are two duties which we owe the incoming immigrant. One is a duty which cannot be performed by government without socialism, and that has no place in American institutions: It is the duty of try-

ing to prevent congestion in the labor market, or trying to distribute the incoming immigrants where they are needed, and not permitting them to remain where the labor market is glutted. This is a duty which should be undertaken by every citizen of this country, for it appeals to every one of us.

The other duty is one which government must undertake, and which the government, with the support of the people, has cheerfully undertaken: it is the duty of education. Something can be done with the older immigrants by education; everything can be done with the young generation, with the children. They must be taught to read and write, and, what is more important, to think in English; and if we do that, we break down the barriers of nationality, and we teach them to think in the language of our common country.

Mr. Chairman, a great cloud has settled over your race. The whole civilized world has been horrified by the atrocities of the last few months in Russia. Your happiness in this celebration has been turned to sorrow, your joy to sadness; but in your grief you have had the heartfelt sympathy of all the people of this country; your grief has been shared by us, your sorrow has become our own, and in the dark night of Russia there is just this one ray of light. Your co-religionists who come to us, driven from their homes by the sword of the oppressor, those who come to us —as many are bound to do—will come to a land ready to give them welcome, ready to extend to them the sympathy of man to his fellow in distress. They will come to us predisposed to assimilate with us; they

will come to us ready to be absorbed into our body politic. If the sharing of your grief by all the eighty millions of Americans, if the sympathy and the human kindness that grief has called forth, serve to bind more closely together the heterogeneous elements of this nation into one homogeneous whole, serve to hasten the accomplishment of our destiny in the creation of an American race, destined to lead the world in righteousness, in justice, and in honor, then those who received the martyr's crown in Russia will not have died in vain.

But a few brief months have flown since we planned this great day of memorial and rejoicing, and lo! such are the mutations of time, our festival is turned into mourning. The placid note of satisfaction is drowned in the shrill whistle of the assassins' bullets and the frenzied shrieks of countless victims. But though crime and death stalk abroad in the world, the business of life must go on. Within the broad reaches of eternity there is time for all things. There is, says the wise king, "A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak; a time of war, and a time of peace."

Confronted with the appalling Russian tragedy, we have refrained from speech and have striven and now strive with might and main to relieve suffering. But the week of first mourning is past, the dead are buried, and in the more sedate manner of the Shloshim or secondary mourning of the month, we must, with such composure as we may, celebrate our memorial day.

In lieu of mirth and gayety, we consecrate the day to lofty and holy purpose. Let us here highly resolve that by speech, by writing, by act and deed we shall so work that the cause of human liberty and human rights shall be advanced all the world over, and that we shall not rest until the great empire of Russia shall be free and ennobled, in that day when Jews and Catholics and Protestants and all men shall enjoy equal rights before the law, and that law one of justice and of right.

Just two hundred and fifty years ago the Jewish pilgrim fathers landed on Manhattan's shores. Like those other pilgrim fathers who founded Plymouth, they fled from religious persecution, the former from the English, the latter from the Portuguese. Both sought refuge with the Dutch. In Holland, the little country built up by the mud and silt which the Rhine brought down from the German highlands, the religious liberty of the modern world was born. Amid griefs and throes inexpressible the harried victims of Spanish bigotry and cruelty declared by "the Union of Utrecht," in the fateful year 1579, that every individual should remain free in his religion, and that no man should be molested or questioned on the subject of divine worship; words, these, which have become commonplaces of civilization, but which at their declaration fell meaningless on the ears of a deaf world. Catholics were being persecuted in Great Britain, Huguenots in France, Lutherans in Germany, and Jews looked upon sufferance as natural. England, France, Spain, and Portugal excluded them. Bigotry and cruelty were the public law of the times.

The mighty line of Marlowe, and the myriad mind of Shakespeare but reflected the intolerance which obsessed the European world.

In high relief against this dark background stands out the august figure of the Prince of Orange, William the Silent, that one prototype among the world's rulers of our own Washington and Lincoln. He alone, to use the language of Motley, seems to have risen to the height of thoroughly comprehending the mean-

ing of religious freedom. Principal director of the movement which was the foundation stone of the Netherland Republic, his familiar title of "Father William" is true in the double sense that he was as well the father of his country as of religious liberty in the Western world.

Upon this star rising in the North, the Portuguese maranos fixed their longing eyes. For a hundred years they had been oppressed, impoverished, imprisoned, burned, expelled for their constancy to the religion of their forefathers. With the outward seeming of Catholics they cherished an intense attachment to Judaism, risking in its cause even life itself. They showed the spectacle of a church whose members cherished for their country and their God a love so fervent and so equal that they could not abandon one for the other, but bore the pangs of martyrdom in the pathetic endeavor to hold fast to both. But even this position, sad as it was, became worse when Portugal, in 1580, came under the domination of Philip of Spain, who but four years later was to inspire the assassination of William the Silent and to earn for himself a heritage of perpetual infamy. He issued new orders against the maranos, and having rendered it impracticable for them to live in peace at home, refined his cruelty by forbidding them to emigrate abroad. The desire to leave his dominions became an overmastering passion, and in the year 1593 the first colony reached Amsterdam. The Netherlands were engaged in a fight for life with Philip of Spain. National patriotism, love for the Reformed religion, and dread of the Inquisition powerfully united to inspire

them with suspicion, fear, and hatred of Philip's Spanish subjects. The poor maranos, externally indistinguishable from Spanish Catholics, had to walk warily for safety. Thanks to the new light, their first serious adventure savored more of comedy than of the tragedy which had so long relentlessly pursued them. One of their early Yom Kippur gatherings was suspected to be a conventicle of Crypto-Catholics, pseudo-Inquisitors, or what not, and the poor maranos brought before the tribunal experienced the delicious novelty of finding their avowal of Judaism to be a shield and buckler.

There was another happening in Amsterdam, in the year 1593, concerning which no looker-on could have foretold how big with future events it was. The Jews had entered the city in the month of April of that year. On the sixth day of that same month Barlow and Greenwood, early Puritan leaders, were hanged in London, and their congregation imprisoned. The little church emigrated, and before the close of the year the fugitives arrived at Amsterdam. In 1620 there went forth from this tiny beginning the Puritan company that was by way of England to lay firm the foundations of New England on the rock of Plymouth.

It was no mere coincidence that "The Jew of Malta" was written in 1590 and "The Merchant of Venice" in 1594. Religious hatred and the correlative contempt for religious freedom spoke also in plain prose. Bishop Hall, one of the most liberal prelates of the next age, contemned Amsterdam as "a common harbor of all opinions, of all heresies," "an

odious composition of Judaism, Arianism, Anabaptism."

The offense for which these brave Puritans suffered was called "sedition," and it consisted in this, that they held it to be the duty of all true Christians to separate themselves from the official church and to form congregations apart, and that they advocated complete religious liberty, denying the right of the state to interfere with the conscience.

Jews and Puritans thus settled in Holland looked back with longing to their kindred left behind in inhospitable homes. The Puritans negotiated for a settlement under the Dutch on the Hudson, and the Jews sent a colony of six hundred to Brazil in 1642. The Puritans abandoned their new Netherland scheme and thereby founded New England, while the Brazilian Jewish colony, broken up by the Portuguese conquest of that country, led to the first Jewish settlement in the United States on this island, which has become the metropolis of the great nation.

In September, 1654, twenty-three Brazilian fugitives arrived at New Amsterdam on the good ship *Saint Catarina*. The South American refuge had lasted only twelve years, and now again they were fleeing from Portuguese intolerance to Dutch freedom. The place to which they came was not what it is now. In 1653, what we call the State of New York, had but two thousand white inhabitants—was, let us say, about equal to our Jewish colony at Woodbine, whereas the population of the present city of New York was but eight hundred. The currency in vogue

was wampum, beads made from shells, valued according to color.

The governor of this little country was a strong-headed, brave, but irascible Dutch soldier. He had served in the West Indies, had been Governor of Curaçao, and had all the love of power which its absolute exercise, free from the supervision of superiors, engenders. When he arrived here in 1647, at the age of forty-five, Stuyvesant marched with great pomp from the vessel to the port, notwithstanding or perhaps because of his wooden leg bound with silver bands. He soon asserted vice-regal authority, and gave every one to understand that an appeal from any decision of his would be punished by the appellant's death. In other respects he was a vigorous and efficient ruler, and his consciousness of this only heightened the asperity of his disposition when his subjects in 1653 demanded and obtained a considerable measure of political freedom. Besides internal troubles, he had difficulties to settle with the natives, with the English on the east, with the Swedes on the Delaware. Worst of all, he felt himself as a kind of pope, responsible for the proper religious attitude of his community, which he held to be possible only by strict conformity to the tenets and practices of the Dutch Reformed Church. On this principle he conscientiously persecuted Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers, until the remonstrances of the people, supported by the company, compelled him to desist.

The arrival of a ship from a Latin country, with a group of strangers dark of complexion, associated in the mind with Catholicism, not even Christians,

certainly not Dutch Reformed Christians, affected the mind of Stuyvesant unpleasantly. He ordered them to leave the colony, which for a man of his type meant simply that he was against letting them settle in New Netherlands.

At this day such notions appall us. In order, however, to do justice to the men of the past, we must consider the atmosphere in which they lived. The most ghastly atrocities for religion's sake were then fresh and familiar. Chmielnitzki, with his Cossacks, had just perpetrated his horrid cruelties against Poland, in the course of which more than three hundred thousand Jews had been ruthlessly massacred. The dreadful Thirty Years' War had but now ended in the Peace of Westphalia—a war of religious antipathies between Christian and Christian, in which millions of human beings perished by the sword and by hunger, and in which all Germany had lost half its population and two-thirds of its movable property.

The new age was just dawning. At last Germany had learned that opposing religious parties must tolerate each other. Dormido, ruined by the Dutch loss of Brazil, was petitioning Cromwell for the free admission of the Jews into England; and in our own land the Providence Plantations, under the charter obtained by Roger Williams, were laying broad and deep the foundations of religious liberty.

It was not in the character of Stuyvesant to discern or to welcome the impending changes, and though more liberality could fairly be expected of a Dutchman than of another, we must not judge the provincial governor's intolerance too severely. Even at

home in Holland the doctrines of William the Silent had not been fully realized in practice. There had been bitter conflicts on obscure points of theology—conflicts in which good men perished. Doctrines are a kind of organism. In their beginnings they do but express potentialities. Time is needed to bring them to their full growth. The cardinal principle that the conscience is free, had to be learned slowly. The narrowness of Stuyvesant was controlled by the liberality of the governing company. In the words of Bancroft: "If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reproved by his employers. Did he change the rate of duties arbitrarily, the directors, sensitive to commercial honor, charged him to keep every contract inviolate. Did he tamper with the currency by raising the nominal value of foreign coin, the measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price of labor by arbitrary rules, this also was condemned as unwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their accounts, the deed was censured as without precedent 'in Christendom'; and he was ordered to 'treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return and the country be depopulated.' Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans, he was chided for his bigotry. Did his hatred of 'the abominable sect of Quakers' imprison and afterwards exile the blameless Bowne, 'let every peaceful citizen,' wrote the directors, 'enjoy freedom of conscience. This maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land. Tread in its steps and you shall be blessed.'"

And we may add that when Stuyvesant was minded to exclude the Jewish immigrants, he was instructed that his course "would be unreasonable and unfair," and that "they shall have permission to sail to and trade in New Netherlands and to live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or the community, but be supported by their own nation." And again he received directions in favor of Jewish settlers, especially providing that they should enjoy all the civil and political rights in New Netherlands which were accorded them in Amsterdam.

The liberal sentiments of the company were due not so much to the capital which the Jews of Amsterdam had invested in its shares, or to the fact, if fact it be, that they were represented in the directorate, as to the broadening influence of world commerce in itself. The continual communication and contact, for one specific purpose, of peoples of different countries, races, religions, and politics, tend to fix the attention on the object to be attained; and when it is perceived that the natural qualities of men are surprisingly similar, the sense of aloofness which survives in men from the feelings of their early prehistoric ancestors is sensibly lessened. Whatever may be said of the moral standards of commercialism, there can be no doubt of the high moral value of commerce. To it more than to any other single agency may be attributed the wide diffusion of more active sentiments of fellowship between the inhabitants of different countries.

At the period of the Jewish settlement of New

Netherlands the latter was a Dutch wedge driven in between the English colonies of the North and those of the South. That the Jews who landed here doubted the hospitality of the English colonies is highly probable, and hence it was no mere accident that Jews settled in Newport in 1655. In their New Amsterdam home they must soon have learned that one of the English colonies stood for the principle of religious freedom with at least as much earnestness and zeal as the Dutch themselves. The name of Roger Williams was not strange in New Netherlands. Years before, he had successfully mediated between the Dutch and their inflamed Indian neighbors. Moreover, the Jews had still another cause to love him. During his stay in England, the question of the Jews' readmission being then mooted, he wrote these noble words: "I humbly conceive it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to break down that superstitious wall of separation (as to civil things) between us Gentiles and the Jews, and freely (without this asking) to make way for their free and peaceable habitation amongst us." Sentiments such as these amply account for the fact that the Jewish settlement at Newport followed hard upon that of New Amsterdam.

The development of the United States during the two hundred and fifty years following the settlement of our Pilgrims has aroused the wonder and admiration of the world. More than eighty millions of free people now inhabit the land, which then held a mere handful; myriads of farms are cultivated on what were forests and waste lands; hundreds of thousands

of miles of iron roads have replaced Indian trails and rude highways; palaces without number for residences, factories, and stores, have risen instead of a few rude huts and cabins; countless ships of unimagined splendor carry on the traffic in necessaries and luxuries, where a few birch-bark canoes sufficed for the bare wants of the hardy colonists; personal comfort, safety, and happiness have increased manifold; education has advanced in quality and has been diffused so as to become general; the products of our country are distributed among its people, and a large surplus goes to add to the comfort of other nations, and to bring to us in exchange therefor the fruits of their industries. And above and beyond all, the representatives of many countries and races live together in amity and harmony with the single mind to add to the greatness of the nation, the happiness of its people, and the betterment of mankind. Civic differences we settle by the peaceful war of ballots; religious, by the truce of God which forbids any man to question another's conscientious belief. Without vainglory or boasting, but with reasoned humility and gratitude for bounties enjoyed, we may apply to our own great and glorious country the words of the heathen prophet concerning Israel, "What hath God wrought!"

Nor have these mercies been singular to our own land. In the distant East the sun of a higher civilization is rising, and even the dark continent sees a great light. For the teeming millions of Asia there is hope of a brighter and more glorious future, and in the wastes and jungles of Africa there is preparing a

new refuge for countless hosts. Would that we might send the voice of gladness and gratulation to every corner of the globe! Alas! it may not be.

The giant empire of the Muscovite is aflame. The torch of the incendiary and the blood of the righteous envelop it in a red mist of nameless horrors. The sons of freedom perish for their country's cause, and Israel is in the van of suffering. He is the man of sorrows, inured to grief, wounded for the transgressions of others, bruised for their iniquities; he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter; he bears the sin of the many, and yet makes intercession for the transgressor.

The appalling suffering of the five million Jews of Russia during the last quarter of a century is a lasting stain upon the fair fame of our age. A corrupt and imbecile autocracy, in order to perpetuate itself, has perpetrated crimes which shame human nature. It has suppressed initiative and hindered education, has extinguished free activity and thought, has plundered the poor, robbed the sick, outraged the helpless, and hounded to death or exile the flower of Russian citizenship. To the voice of civilization it has turned a deaf ear, and, drunk with power, has arrogantly defied the protests of the great powers and the aroused conscience of the world. The measure of its iniquity was full, when lo! the word of the Lord came to the small island empire of the Orient, saying: "Son of man, set thy face toward Gog, and prophesy against him, and say, Thus saith the Lord God, I am against thee, O Gog, and I will turn thee about and put hooks into thy jaws, and I will bring

thee forth and all thine army, horses and horsemen. Thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwalled villages; I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates, to take a spoil, to take a prey. And it shall come to pass, saith the Lord God, that my fury shall come up in thy face. I will call for a sword against him throughout all my mountains; I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood. They shall know that I am the Lord."

Blow upon blow fell upon the cruel giant, and yet Pharaoh-like, he would not let the people go. Rather did he tear and rend the helpless and the innocent, until at last the mighty power of revolution forced the concession that the people of the land have an interest and a right in its government—a concession which, though given parsimoniously, without heart and in doubtful faith, seems the forerunner of a sane and civilized government. But, alas for the wicked, even their good acts seem smitten with a curse. The minions of the foul system of autocracy have deluged the land with the blood of its truest and best citizens. Students, filled with youthful and generous ardor for liberty, thinkers hoping for and rejoicing in a new Arcadia, Jews shouting the pæan of freedom, have gone to their death in ruthless, indiscriminate massacre. And the mighty Czar, who but the other day spat in the face of civilization, cowers for safety behind the blood-red figure of Trepoff, the assassin of women and children.

Let no man despair. The guardian of Israel neither sleepeth nor slumbereth. Out of this wreck-

age and confusion, this *tohu va-bohu*, there shall emerge a new Russia, free and regenerate, as powerful for good as it has hitherto been for evil, a Russia of noble men and women enlisted in the cause of civilization and progress.

The nations shall call her to a place by their side, and together they will begin a new advance to the better. In that day the name of the autocracy and its minions shall be utterly blotted out and pass from the memory of man. In a merciful oblivion shall these stains on the fair surface of humanity be wiped out.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, at the beginning of the period whose ending we celebrate, there rang in the ears of our Pilgrim Fathers the plaintive melodies of the requiem Kaddish for the myriad victims of Russian massacre. Alas! that after this long lapse of time these infamies should by a kind of diabolic rhythm be repeated. But though joy be turned into mourning, let not hope degenerate to despair. Despite wrong and cruelty, suffering and calamity, the world yet moves, and from progress toward better days its course will not be swerved. Amid the terror and the carnage of the siege of Jerusalem, with the roar in his ears of the falling of the giant temple walls, Johanan ben Zakkai manfully addressed himself to the task of repair and rebuilding, founded the academy at Jamnia, and saved Judaism.

So we, in the midst of this horrible catastrophe, must not lose our bearings. Not only has the area of persecution been narrowed in the last two hundred and fifty years, but the sphere of civilization

has grown wider, and the quality of humanity has become finer and more intensified. The feelings of horror and reproach which move the whole Western world are due to a genuine amelioration of manners, a true advance in free thought and respect for dissenting opinions. The good will and sense of justice of the civilized world are our main reliance, and in them we may hopefully trust.

That there are shadows in this picture it were vain to deny; that here, there, and everywhere minorities are offended, ridiculed, even injured, is true; that Jews, as the universal minority, suffer more than others, may be admitted. This proves not that civilization does not advance, but that it advances slowly, and intermittently halts or even recedes. We, the heirs of the ages, looking back sadly and proudly to our historic past, look forward sadly and proudly to our historic future. When the whole world was steeped in polytheism and immorality, our ancestors raised the banner of pure religion and morality. Now that our moral creed has become the universal heritage, our mission to press forward is none the less urgent. At every point in the world's progress there are times, places, and opinions which are desert spots in the advance of mankind, and from these there must ever be the march forward to the horizon land of Canaan, where the milk and honey of truth and goodness and happiness are purer than in the regions left behind. The quest is endless, because the glory of humanity is its noble discontent with the achieved, its high-hearted search for the unattainable.

We of this blessed land have peculiar causes for

thankfulness, high incentives for heroic exertion. Here have been gathered from all lands the free of soul, the undaunted of purpose. To no mere accident of soil or climate can be ascribed our amazing stature. The free institutions of our country, the generous-mindedness of our citizens, their great-heartedness, their majestic reposefulness, their colossal energy—these are the true springs of our greatness.

And of this noble land we are citizens, free and equal. So high a position entails high duties. Lazy indulgence in good things freely attainable, selfish devotion to mere individual aggrandizement, these, while in a way contributing to the general wealth and prosperity, are but paltry factors in national greatness. If we keep not before our eyes the true object of the state—justice to all, the true objective of the individual, the heightening of the general ideal—we do not contribute our full share to make our country a shining light to the peoples of the earth. Duty to the nation is best performed by rearing it on the foundation duties which we perform to our State, to our church, to our city, to our neighbor.

The liberty of this country demands of no man that he abandon his conscientious convictions; the rather it exhorts all to stand by them. Not in a lifeless monotony of opinion will we find a nation nearing the goal, but in a happy diversity which fuses into a glorious harmony.

The Jews of this country comprise diverse elements. Russian and Roumanian persecutions have for the last quarter of a century driven to our shores those who risked all rather than bear indignities un-

endurable by the high-hearted. Newcomers have startled us by their strange garb and speech, and there were not a few among us who at first recurred to that primitive mode of thought which holds all that is strange to be odious. Queer tragi-comedy! A Goldwin Smith and a Treitschke, from the height of their university watchtower, see in the approach of a Jewish Englishman or a Jewish German the same cause for alarm as thrills the nerves of a Sergius or a Plehve at the approach of a Jewish Russian. And so it is that the universal learning of the first two and the universal ignorance of the latter, equally leave room for an emotion of mere repulsion inherited from the remote prehistoric instinct that seeks a weapon at the sight of a stranger. Despite the persistence of this primitive feeling in mankind, every day tends more and more to weaken it. We who are the most conspicuous sufferers from it should signalize ourselves by our freedom from it. Happily, the day for such narrowness is passing, if not past.

It had seemed reasonable to hope that this might be an occasion auspicious for foreshadowing projects of larger usefulness for ourselves and our country, which the Jews of the United States are called upon to take up and carry out. The disastrous occurrences in Russia, however, demand immediate and unremitting attention. Whatever may be done to bind up the wounds must be done; whatever may be done to stop the massacres must be done; whatever may be done to relieve the surviving bulk of Russian Jewry must be done.

All narrow and scholastic differences must now be

ignored. Whatever be the agency of relief, bid it welcome, whether it come in the name of colonization, or Zionism, or territorialism, or what you will. All forces, individual and corporate, should unite to do what is possible in the face of this great calamity.

In the meanwhile do not despair of Russia. The officials everywhere are the creatures of the autocracy which is passing, and though they may by assassinations and robberies and mob violence seek to stop the onward march toward freedom, they are foredoomed to fail. The day will come when that great empire, aroused from its lethargy, will contain a free, prosperous, and happy people. Alas! before the final achievement there must be much misery and bloodshed. While the period of terror lasts, it is our duty to help all we may to secure protection and refuge for the victims. We may not soothe ourselves with the anodyne of hope that there will be no further use for our assistance; nor should we stay our hand for a moment in endeavoring to influence a change for the better in Russia itself.

At the head of our nation stands its most illustrious citizen, illustrious in character, in achievement, and in promise. Whatever may be done by that marvelous combination of Greatheart and Wiseman will surely be accomplished, and that without supplication or importunity, but of his own motion. For us it is to give money, labor, sympathy, and coöperation.

And be ye well assured that when the auspicious hour strikes, in which the voice of civilization can be heard amid the din and clangor of Russian confusion, the note that will sound clearest and carry far-

thest will be the expression of the conscience of eighty millions of free Americans. We, whose ancestors bore their share in the mission of Columbus, who have lived and grown and thriven alongside our neighbors of all shades of belief in uninterrupted unity, may well reckon ourselves as of the first of Americans, bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of Columbia. Our labors have been given, our blood shed indistinguishably with the rest of our fellow-citizens in the beginnings and for the rise of the nation. Our pride, our hope in our country will not fail, but will gain with the centuries that in their passage will add new brilliancy to the light of civilization and humanity. And as the good work goes on, we may hope that the serpent of persecution and violence, wherever hidden, may be found and bound; that judgment may be given to them that sit upon thrones to do wrong, and that this first quarter of the millennium, whose passage we celebrate to-day, may expand into the full and complete millennium in which those who have suffered in the past may live in peace and happiness, in hope and safety.

When I accepted the invitation of your Chairman to be present and say a few words on this occasion, I did so very willingly, because of the deep interest which I have always felt in the Hebrew race and people, and I was glad of an opportunity to give public expression to it. And this, perhaps, is about all that I can do, as I cannot hope to add anything to what has been already said by those who have preceded me, and it would be a rash venture to try to anticipate what will be said by those who are to follow me, and who are far more competent than I am to speak to this occasion and to rehearse your story to you.

I may, however, be permitted to state why that story is to me so interesting and appealing. First, because it is so exceptional and unique, as the story of a race which, while it has dwelt among so many other races, has yet so persistently and consistently maintained its own racial integrity. Scattered all over the face of the earth, under all governments and in all countries, the Hebrew race has had, without a government and without a country, for nearly two thousand years, a cohesive nationality, which no disaster has destroyed, no misfortune weakened, no lapse of time impaired. Other nationalities in the history of the world, and some of them very great and apparently the strongest, as though they were destined forever to endure, have risen and run their course and fallen down, or fallen in, and perished and ceased to be. But here is a nationality which, through

all the changing experiences and vicissitudes of the centuries, has not only preserved but extended its dominion, has not only survived but flourished and advanced; which, without losing or compromising itself, has nevertheless inspirited itself into nearly all the other nations of the world, and whose quickening and vital energy, as George Eliot observes, is beating today in the pulses, unnoted and uncredited, of many millions of people.

And what a long muster-roll of eminent names it has! From Moses, the great lawgiver and Hebrew teacher of righteousness, to Moses Mendelssohn, the great philosophic thinker and apostle of Hebrew culture; from Isaiah, the man of vision, to Spinoza, the God-intoxicated man; and many more of other days, and yet in some respects at least of scarcely lesser note, of those who have contributed in letters and in art, in philosophy and jurisprudence, philanthropy and religion, in science and in song, to the welfare of the world. For what department is there, as a Christian writer testifies, of social or civil economy, that has not been and is not now illustrated and adorned by the unconquerable genius, the unimpaired vigor, the unslackened energy, the immortal youth, of this so ancient nation! Surely it is a story among the stories of the nations, exceptional and unique, and I wonder not at your pride in it; and although I am not of you, I can share it with you, reserving my astonishment with some impatience in it for those who have and feel such rancorous and churlish prejudice against you. Or is it jealousy of you? That there have been, and that there are, unworthy, ignoble,

and degraded Jews, no one will deny, and least of all you. But that is not a fact peculiar to your race. It is true of every race, Christian as well as Jewish. But there is this further fact of which you may be proud, that no matter how degraded the Jew may become, a man who loves his home, as Lord Beaconsfield has said, is never wholly lost; and the Jew, therefore, he adds, is never wholly demoralized; for, with the patriarchal feeling, even in his lowest and deepest degradation, still lingering about his hearth, the Jew loves his home.

But the character of a people, like the character of a person, should not be measured by its worst, but rather by its best; not by the depths into which it has at times sunken and declined, but rather by the heights to which it has attained; and reckoned by that rule and by that standard judged, Israel's rank is high. And the story of Israel's people is the story of a race which from that little border-land upon the midland sea has been moving on and on with an inexhaustible vigor, through all the ages since, crossing all the seas, touching all the lands, and all the many and various forms of their unfolding life, until it reached this land; not only here more freely its own destiny to fulfill, but to become thereafter a factor in the destiny of this land.

No, I wonder not at your pride in it, nor that you are moved, not merely as loyal Jews but as patriotic citizens, to celebrate and keep this anniversary day of the first Jewish arrival, two hundred and fifty years ago, on these New Amsterdam shores. And yet it was not the first on these American shores. For

the claim has been made, and it seems to be authentic, that a small Jewish contingent had something to do with the discovery of America, and that with the Spanish caravels that brought Columbus here, there also came members of the Hebrew race and faith.

And this leads me to speak of another reason why the Jewish story is to me so interesting and appealing: Because it is the story of a persecution. And it was in that eventful year, when America was discovered, as Judge Daly has stated in his scholarly address on the Jews in North America, that the terrible persecution of the Jews in Europe began, which led to their expulsion from France, Spain, and Portugal, and which in its immediate effects was more disastrous than even the destruction of Jerusalem. And what a long and painful and cruel story it is! Yes, and what a strange one! Because it is the story of a persecution wrought, or at all events inspired, by a religious faith which claimed to have and hold as one of its cardinal tenets the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and which declared it to be the highest duty of man to love God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. It might therefore be supposed, naturally and logically, that those who held that faith, or who professed to hold it, would at least be tolerant of those who held it not, because, although they held it not, they were still their neighbors, and, so that faith declared, closer yet—their brothers. But neighborhood and brotherhood, however much they may have been recognized for others, furnished no protection or refuge for the Jew. From all such asylum or sanctuary privilege he was ex-

cluded, not because he was a sinner above all other sinners, but because he was a Jew. That was the great and heinous crime which he would not forego, and others would not forget, for which he was made a pariah and an outcast, unshielded by the state, unsheltered by the church, and with a cruel oppression victimized by both. Some have attempted to show that this was chiefly the work of the state and not so much of the church, and thus have tried to excuse at least, if not to acquit, the church. I wish it were true, but I cannot so read my history. I read, on the contrary, that the state was at times in advance of the church, or in advance of what was called the prevailing Christian opinion, in its disposition to grant certain rights and privileges to the Jew. I read, for instance, that in the year 1753 a bill was introduced into Parliament for the naturalization of all the Jews who had been three years in the kingdom, and that, although it passed both Houses and received the royal assent, there was such a virulent clamor and opposition to it, not only by the populace but also by the clergy, that the obnoxious measure had to be repealed.

But this is only one of many similar cases which have in the record of Christendom appeared, to stain it and to shame it. And while, of course, there is and can be no apology for them, yet to the student of human nature there is, perhaps, some explanation of them. For religious toleration is an art, a fine and a high art, difficult to learn, and few there be who learn it; and even those who learn it soon proceed to unlearn it, or else to apply it chiefly to the

elect, by which, of course, they mean chiefly to themselves. Fleeing from the tyranny, civil and religious, of the mother country, the Puritan fathers came to find here a home, or establish here a state, where they might enjoy without let or hindrance that great human privilege of a perfectly free conscience, which had been denied them in their other state and home. And they did find it, and they did enjoy it; and then proceeded to enact that no one for the time to come should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic except such as were members of some of the Puritan churches within the limits of the same. Nowhere among the early American colonies was the principle of religious toleration more clearly and fully asserted, and for a time at least more consistently held and practiced, than in Rhode Island and Maryland. Upon that principle of religious toleration both of them were founded, especially Rhode Island, where, fleeing from the bigotry of Massachusetts Bay, Roger Williams had proclaimed and instilled into the people of those Providence Plantations his great soul-liberty doctrine. And yet, as Judge Daly states, while both those colonies started with the broadest recognition of the rights of conscience as the prerogative and privilege of all who should settle in them, in little more than a century, one construed those rights as applying only to Christians, and the other as only to Christians of a particular denomination.

Thus do we find that even here in America, in the free and broad expanse of this American soil, free enough and broad enough for all sincere convictions, freedom of conscience has been a plant of slow and

struggling growth. And yet that slow and struggling growth has had the good effect to give it deeper and stronger root and to make it more secure, that so at last it might become, as at last it has become, the recognized prerogative and privilege of all in this American land to give to all of every faith its glad and grateful shelter. Religious differences exist, and they will exist. And yet, however high the separating wall, it does not and it cannot wholly separate, because that freedom-of-conscience plant has in this land become, like the tribal blessing of Joseph, a good and fruitful bough whose branches run over the wall. The wall may exist, the walls do exist; but they are covered and adorned in this land with that beneficent principle of religious toleration which makes them not like battle walls, to garrison hostile camps, but rather more like garden walls, inclosing friendly faiths, where each may have the chance to freely grow and flourish, and by the fruitage which it bears, in character and life, in manhood and womanhood, and in civic excellence, to prove and show its relative worth and make its value seen.

That is the test to which the creeds should come, must come, and are coming—yours and mine and all; and to which sooner or later the nations, too, must come; not to the gage of battle, but rather to that friendly rivalry in righteousness whose peaceable fruits shall determine which is the stronger nation and which the more excellent creed. Then will all oppression and all persecution cease, as with us they have ceased.

Hence it is that we who are of a different faith

can unite to-day with you in friendly and fraternal tie, and with no other kind of rivalry than a rivalry in righteousness, in giving thanks to God for all the blessings which have come to this American land. And yet, in the exercise of that religious freedom which is enjoyed by us, we must not fail to remember those, our brethren far away, to whom it is denied, and who, through a religious and racial animosity, are made the hapless victims of a cruel persecution, which in its wanton ferocity and rancor has scarcely ever been surpassed even in that story, full of horrors as it is, from Titus to Torquemada, of the persecution of the Jews, as though again to-day, in this enlightened age, all the wild and untamed savagery that is latent in human nature had leaped upon them from its lair to rend them and to tear them. So that there is mingled with the jubilate strains of this Thanksgiving occasion, and this anniversary festival, the sad and plaintive minor tone of a Miserere cry coming across the waters, sounding in our ears, of men, women and children, yes, even little children, mothers, and their babes, who, although they have no grievous crime committed, are suffering nevertheless a great and grievous wrong simply because they have the blood of their ancestors flowing in their veins. Let the Russian Government beware! let the Russian people beware, lest, in trying to break this ancient people of the Lord God of Israel, they should themselves be broken! For while nations rise and fall, the Jewish race persists, and no weapon that is formed against it shall prosper.

And so, with a story exceptional and unique among

the stories of the nations, the Jewish race has been steadily moving on, through trials and persecutions, cast down but not destroyed, toward that great and high yet still unfulfilled and undetermined destiny which, in the councils of Israel's God, awaits it in the future. May I give to this address a concluding personal note? Twelve years ago there was another great and notable assemblage in this hall. The intelligence had been flashed over the country, and over the world, that Phillips Brooks was dead, and the people of this city gathered in great numbers here to express their affection and admiration for him. And, standing in the place where I am standing now, and speaking to an audience as large as the audience to which I now am speaking, and which crowded this hall to the doors and roof, the noblest tribute paid to that Christian man was by a Jewish rabbi, your honored Dr. Gottheil. It was the recognition by one great man of God of another great man of God, each of whom in his way served Him here in this world, and both of whom, I doubt not, have now, in some other world, a clearer and a closer and a larger vision of Him.

ADDRESS BY REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES

What saith the Lord? What does this celebration mean? How would God have us understand it? Surely not as an occasion to indulge in mere recitation of Jewish achievement in this land during the last two hundred and fifty years! Surely not by self-congratulation because our lines have been cast in pleasant places, while our brethren abroad have met sorrow and misfortune!

Two hundred and fifty years! A thousand years in God's sight are but as yesterday, as a night-watch! And what are two hundred and fifty years in the history of the deathless nation? likened as we are to the stars of the heavens, the sand of the sea, the dust of the earth, destined therefore to be and to endure until those heavens vanish in vapor, and earth becomes old like a garment.

When we were born, Accad and Nineveh were strong; Egyptian and Hittite had but begun their marvelous achievement. When we were young and in our own land, the clang of Greek arms on the plains of Troy woke the world to all that Hellas was to mean. When Romulus built Rome's first walls, when Homer sang, when Greece and Persia were in death-grip, we heard, we beheld. Why were we the witnesses? What was God's purpose?

Like the stars of heaven we watched the rise and fall of all those nations; we saw the onrush of barbaric hosts that wrecked the ancient mighty powers; we heard the crash when paganism fell; we marked

the wondrous rise of the Cross, the growth and wane of the Crescent, the birth and progress of the modern nations; we, the eternal witnesses of the Eternal God, stood by and watched. Wherefore?

Like the sand of the sea, we have endured crushing wave and fateful storm, waves of popular fury, storms of Christian hate, whose very shrieks gave the lie to Christianity, in whose name the tempest-furies were unleashed. Like the sand of the sea, weak and without cohesion, we beat them back; we survive; we are here to-day, you whose sires escaped from German scorn, you or yours from Russian hate, mine from Spanish Inquisition.

Like the dust of the earth, trodden upon by all, but uppermost at last. Those who trod us down are dead, buried and forgotten, while we endure, still producing the material growths which beautify or nourish the world, the spiritual growths which inspire it. Oh, marvelous destiny! Oh, wonderful race, what does it all mean? What does this anniversary mean, a mere milestone in the march of the eternities, what does it mean in the scheme of God for mankind's weal, since He is the God of us all?

"Ye are my witnesses," saith the Lord.

That is the answer.

We are witnesses for God, for the three R's which nations and men alike must heed: Reverence for God, Righteousness toward our fellow-man, Responsibility for discharge of duty.

Because the old nations heeded not these ideals, they fell.

So we say to an England to-day, not "God and

my Right," but " God and *the* Right," lest my right be others' wrong; to a France, not " Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality," but " Liberty hallowed by God's sovereignty, Fraternity sanctified by God's Fatherhood, Equality consecrated by God's love."

And as we pause at this anniversary, we, the remnant of the oldest of nations, say to this the greatest of the young nations of to-day, not merely " government of the people, by the people, and for the people," but " government of the people, by the people, and for the people, *with* government of God, by God, and for God," so that God, Reverence, Righteousness, and Responsibility shall be the ideals for life national, life political, life social, home life and life personal.

We witness for these ideals. And the supreme significance of this celebration is that we must realize God's purpose, as we conceive it, in bringing us to this land to help, by the lives we live as Jews and as American citizens, to upbuild this nation's strength, her liberties, her progress, by our own loyalty to these ideals—God, Reverence, Righteousness, Responsibility.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, NOVEMBER 29, 1905

Our Jewish fellow-citizens throughout the United States have this year dedicated the Thanksgiving holiday to a national celebration to commemorate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first settlement of the Jews in the United States. Not merely as Jews, but as American citizens, we have gathered here to-night to testify to the undying loyalty and altruistic patriotism of the Jewish citizens to the great American ideals of liberty and democracy. Not as adopted children in an alien land, but as part and parcel of the great American body politic, that has wrought and achieved its ideals out of the countless patriotic sacrifices of successive generations, we to-night celebrate this anniversary as an American national event.

Ever since that day when Columbus first announced in a letter to his Jewish friend, Luis de Santangel, the discovery of America by the expedition fitted out by Jewish gold, manned in part by Jewish sailors, and guided into unknown seas by nautical tables compiled by a Jew, printed by another, and presented to Columbus by a third—ever since that day the Jew has played an honorable and not undistinguished part in the history and development of the Western continents.

Almost a hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the Jews had established their homes in the Spanish provinces whence they came to the United States. Wherever a colony was dedicated to freedom, there came the Jewish settler with his indomitable en-

ergy, to share the hardships and perils of the pioneer. In Dutch New Amsterdam, in the wilds of Georgia, in the ancient Providence Plantations, and in Rhode Island, with the Quakers in Pennsylvania, wherever he was welcome, the Jew honorably discharged his duty of good citizenship.

In war and in peace for two hundred and fifty years the Jew had an unbroken history in the United States of active participation in all the great American events. Truly, in the words which Washington addressed to the Hebrew congregation when he visited Newport in 1790: "The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship," and Washington continued: "It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights, for, happily, the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no factions, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support." And let me conclude in the words of Washington: "May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants—while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid."

ADDRESS OF LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR GUILD

In the absence of His Excellency, the governor, it is my fortunate privilege to welcome heartily to the home and the feast of the Puritan the distinguished Americans whom you honor to-day, to congratulate you on the worthy celebration of this memorable anniversary, and to bring to you every good wish of the old Commonwealth, founded as a sanctuary where the Puritan might worship as he pleased, but blessedly developed into an asylum where all men, whatever their race or creed or color, may find not only equal religious, but equal civil rights—the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Both Jew and Christian in America have a right to a pride in the anniversary, for it emphasizes the fact that, though the Jew was proscribed in every European nation two hundred and fifty years ago, though the Hebrews of Spain, Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, who played so important a part in fitting out the fleet of Columbus, were obliged to conceal their real religion to escape death in their own country, no act of exclusion marred the entrance of the Jews to the new land of America. The same year, too (1655), that witnessed the liberal policy of Holland with the Dutch grant to the Jews of leave of settlement in New Amsterdam, saw Oliver Cromwell's Whitehall Conference nullify the edict of Edward I. of England with the declaration to the petition of Manasseh ben Israel that nothing in law forbade the residence of Jews in England.

The Puritan, indeed, owed a peculiar debt to the Jew. His daily life, his political notions even, were modeled on his own conceptions of the Decalogue and the Pentateuch. His children bore the names of the patriarchs, his mouth was full of the impassioned words of the prophets, his very notions of government were not so far from those of the Jewish Commonwealth.

Throughout the long centuries, avarice and covetousness have been the basis of every Gentile taunt of the children of Israel. Well have you answered the taunt in Massachusetts. The Bay State has produced as yet no Mendelssohn, no Heine, no Gambetta, no Disraeli. The Massachusetts Jew has won no especial distinction yet in music, in letters, or in statecraft. Yet he has won distinction; he has served the Commonwealth. Go to the hospital where the sick rest the easier for his tireless labor. Ask the struggling musician who helped him in his day of want. Whom does the aged exile from the Fatherland bless that the evening of his shattered life is of peaceful sunset, not of frozen night? Seek out the bright spot amid the swarming tenements where the children of the poorest find books and music and flowers and sunshine and hope and inspiration. The Jew's fine answer to the Gentile's taunt of avarice is that in Massachusetts his brethren who have won fortune by ability, have won distinction only by philanthropy and the charity that suffereth all and is kind.

From no race has America a greater right to demand better citizenship than from the Benai-Israel,

from the Hebrew. The " stone kraals " of the wandering Matabele in South Africa, relics of the ancient colony of Sheba, the ancient cuttings of silver mines in Spain and of tin mines in Cornwall, remain to show where the energy of Solomon, King of Israel, sent the fleets of Hiram, King of Tyre, west through the pillars of Hercules to northern Europe a thousand years before Cæsar's landing in Britain, and south, through a Suez Canal, to the gold mines of the Transvaal three thousand years before De Lesseps and Kruger, that gold and silver and tin and copper might be found for the splendor of the Temple. To whom have we a right to look, if not to the race to whom the Temple and the mercy-seat were more precious even than the home, for the preservation of faith and trust and religion and lofty inspiration in a time of skepticism and unbelief.

Moses, Judas Maccabæus, Eleazar, and Bar-Kochba: it was Israel, independent of thought, passionate for liberty, that raised up leaders like these to loose the yoke of the foreign tyrant. Can the Jew in America submit or stand aside in silence when in the great cities, the States, the nation, the American people rise up to break the chains of domestic tyranny of boss and ring?

The Jerusalem the Roman sat down to besiege, was a thriving, populous city. The Jerusalem that Titus captured was a grave of eleven hundred thousand who had given life itself for faith and freedom. To whom, if not to their children, should we look for that self-sacrifice that enables poverty to spurn the gift of the

grafter and riches, to turn aside from the temptation of corruption, to the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

Lafayette formed the French tricolor by adding to the white flag of the Bourbon kings, the red and blue of the shield of the city of Paris, that the French flag might represent not a reigning family only, but the whole French people.

There is a flag of white striped with blue, the sacred colors of Israel, and upon it is a star, the interlacing triangles of the shield of David. We are here together, my brothers, not of one race but of many, not of one faith but of many, but bound by a single duty, a single loyalty. Let us add to the flag that the Zionists have prepared from the ancient Jewish symbols: let us add to the white of faith and the blue of hope, the red of virile courage, and to the single star of one great race the constellation representing not the States only, but the combined destinies of all the races that blend in ours, and in our national Thanksgiving for the blessings vouchsafed the common country, let us pray in the day of her triumph, as Holmes prayed in the day of her danger,

"Keep us, oh, keep us, the Many in One."

"Few greater calamities," says Lecky, "can befall a nation than to cut herself off, as France did in her great Revolution, from all vital connection with her own past." Here, in this historical hall, dedicated by that great commoner, James Otis, as "The Cradle of Liberty," where were held those town meetings which throbbed with the nascent principles of democracy, and where a decade later Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren first organized resistance to arbitrary government, it is most fitting and proper to celebrate an historical event, which, though insignificant in itself, yet whose threads, dyed in the blood of martyrs for soul-liberty under the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, find a fitting place in the composite fabric of our continent's history and in the development of our civil and religious liberties. The historian of the persecution of the Jews, Dr. Kayserling, says: "Where the history of the Jews in Spain ends, their history in America begins; the Inquisition is the last chapter of the confessors of Judaism on the Pyrenean peninsula and its first chapter on the continent of the Western hemisphere." . The expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal and the discovery of America are linked together not only as contemporaneous events, but also in some important contributory relations. Emilio Castelar, in his "History of Columbus," says that as soon as Luis Santangel, the Comptroller-General of Aragon, "one of those antique Jews who have so greatly helped to enlighten the Christian world," heard of the dismissal of Colum-

bus, he prevailed upon the Queen to order his return; and when she complained of the emptiness of the Castilian treasury, Santangel assured her Majesty of the flourishing state of the Aragonese finances, doubtless, says the historian, because of the revenues derived from the confiscation of the property of the expelled Jews. From the archives of Simancas, which are still preserved at Seville, it is clear that Santangel, whom the historian has named "the Beaconsfield of his time," and whose uncle of the same name, and other kinsmen, died at the stake in Saragossa, not only was instrumental, in connection with Juan Cabrera, also of Jewish lineage, in successfully interposing on behalf of Columbus, but it is proven beyond question that he advanced the money that made the voyage of discovery possible, out of his personal belongings. Furthermore, the first and the second letters of Columbus narrating the facts of his great discoveries were addressed to Santangel and to the Treasurer of Aragon, also a marano, or secret Jew, Gabriel Sanchez.

In order to obtain the crews to man the caravels of Columbus, it was necessary to throw open the doors of the prisons of Palos and other seaports. Within their dungeon walls were found many members of the hunted and expulsed race, and it is not surprising that to such men the dangers of the unknown seas would be an attractive escape from their pitiable fate. It is known that the interpreter, the surgeon, and the physician of the fleet, besides several sailors who were with Columbus on his first voyage, were Jews. Castelar says: "It chanced that one of the

last vessels transporting into exile the Jews expelled from Spain by religious intolerance, of which the recently created and odious tribunal of the faith was the embodiment, passed by the little fleet bound in search of another world, whose creation should be new-born, a haven be afforded to the quickening principle of human liberty, and a temple reared to the God of enfranchised and redeemed conscience. . . . The accursed spirit of reaction was wreaking one of its stupendous and futile crimes in that very hour when the genius of liberty was searching the waves for the land that must needs arise to offer an unstained abode for the ideals of progress."

Among the earliest and certainly the most enlightened colonists who came to this continent, to South America, and to the islands in the Atlantic, were many Jews who left Spain and Portugal in order to escape the rack and the stake of the merciless bloodhounds of the Holy Office. The number of the children and grandchildren of those Jews who had been burned and condemned by the Inquisition, and who settled on the American continent shortly after the discovery, was so large that Queen Johanna considered it necessary, in 1511, to take measures against them.

In 1620, when the Dutch West India Company was formed, Jews became influential stockholders and subsequently directors therein; and in 1654, when the Dutch colony of Brazil came under Portuguese control, many thousand Jews had again to flee and seek a new place of refuge. In September of that year twenty-three of these fugitives arrived at New Amsterdam. They did not receive a hearty welcome from

the not over-amiable Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, whose conception of our future metropolis was to make it a comfortable little Dutch village with a monopoly of fur trade with the Indians. When, six months later, the governor endeavored to expel the newcomers, he was reprimanded by the directors of the company in Holland, and instructed that the right of the Jews to live unmolested within the colony was unreservedly granted, because to prohibit them "would be unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss they had sustained in the capture of Brazil, and because of the large amount of capital they had invested in the shares of the company."

This is the beginning of the first Jewish settlement within the limits of the United States, whose two hundred and fiftieth anniversary we are commemorating to-night. The same year, 1655, through the persistent efforts of Manasseh ben Israel, enlisting the kindly favor of the tolerant Oliver Cromwell, the Jews regained admission into Great Britain, from which country they had been expelled in 1290 under Edward I. It should be here noted that one of the foremost advocates for the re-admission of the Jews in Great Britain was Roger Williams, that immortal pioneer of soul-liberty, the first true type of an American freeman, who was then in London, to obtain a new charter uniting the several Rhode Island towns, and to secure and safeguard those inestimable blessings to which he consecrated his life, under which "all men may walk as their conscience persuades them, every one in the name of his God."

Three and a half decades before the *St. Catarina*

brought the little band of hunted and despoiled fugitives from Brazil to our shores, another little bark had plowed its way in midwinter through the stormy ocean, wafted by the airs of heaven to yon bleak coast. There she landed her little crew of refugees, men, women, and children, on Plymouth Rock, that stepping stone to the temple of our liberties, whose capstone, bathed in the blood of their descendants, was placed two hundred and fifty years later by the hands of the immortal liberator, Abraham Lincoln. They were purists without priests or priestly orders, separated from the national church, but at one with their God, and drawing their inspiration directly from the Bible—not the catechism of Archbishop Laud, but from the open Bible of Moses and Luther. They were in all a hundred souls, whom two hundred years' struggle for freedom had prepared for this voyage. They studied the Old Testament in order to better understand the New. From the former they drew their civil polity; from the latter their church discipline and ceremonials. Moses was their lawgiver, the Pentateuch their code, and Israel under the judges their ideal of popular government. The path of the crusaders to recover the holy sepulchre was dyed with the blood of the hunted professors of Judaism, and from a hatred organized by the church against "the people of the book," the book itself fell into dis-esteem, a feeling which was carried over with many of the Roman rites into the early Protestant Church. With the rise of the Puritans, and their struggle for independency and freedom from ecclesiastical tyranny, came a revival of the study of the Old Testa-

ment, of Hebrew and of Hebraic learning. With the American Puritans especially, the Mosaic code and the Hebrew commonwealth were living realities, so intense was their interest, so earnest was their religious life. No architect drew his plans with more fidelity of purpose to reconstruct a building after an ancient model than did the Puritans study this biblical code and the Hebraic form of government, which they endeavored to apply literally to their New Canaan. Elsewhere I have dwelt in detail upon the Hebraic mortar that cemented the foundations of our American democracy, and how through the windows of the Puritan churches, the New West looked back to the Old East.

It was only a few years after their first settlement in New York that several of the fugitives, and others who had arrived from across the seas, settled in Newport, where they were hospitably received in consonance with the spirit of the colony's founder, Roger Williams. These early Puritans, austere in manner and with a church polity exacting and narrow, calling no man master, and with a deep sense of equality before God, it was but a step to equality among one another, thus building up their civil state upon a purely religious, democratic foundation. As Lecky says: "It is at least an historical fact, that in the great majority of instances the early Protestant defenders of civil liberty derived their political principles chiefly from the Old Testament, and the defenders of despotism from the New."

The American Jews, as loyal and faithful citizens, have shared willingly in all the trials our country has

passed through, from the days of the Revolution until the present time, and she has found none more ready than they to make every sacrifice that true patriotism demanded. During the Revolution there were only a few hundred Jews within the limits of the United States, yet we find in the Continental army, not to speak of the ranks, there were two colonels, Colonel Bush, of Pennsylvania, and the other Colonel Franks, who was the bearer of the treaty of peace to England. Thomas Wentworth Higginson relates that in 1788, in Philadelphia, in honor of the adoption of the Constitution, there marched side by side a rabbi and two Christian ministers—" really," are his words, " constituting the first parliament of religions in this country." In our Civil War more than seven thousand names of Jewish patriots have been identified, and during our lesser war with Spain, twenty-seven hundred participated, and several regiments were formed, but their services were not required.

The criticism is often made that the Jews are clannish, and do not amalgamate with the rest of the population. This is only partially true. Clannish they are, not from choice but from self-respect. They have amalgamated as far as the delicacy of social relations justified, and there are not a few of the very best families in this, and in other cities, who have evidences of that amalgamation in their veins. John Howard Payne, who gave us that song which never fails to thrill a patriot's heart, " Home, Sweet Home," was the son of a Jewish mother. No people, ancient or modern, have brought such great sacrifices for spiritual ideas and ideals as the Jews; the longest

trail of martyrdom in all history is crimsoned with their blood. George Eliot, quoting the historian Zunz, says in "Daniel Deronda": "If there are ranks in suffering, Israel takes precedence of all the nations; if the duration of sorrows, and the patience with which they are borne, ennoble, the Jews are among the aristocracy of every land; if a literature is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a national tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and the actors were also the heroes?"

It is sad, and a cause for regret, that we must conjure up the mournful pictures oppression has engraved in blood upon the pages of history, but, alas! every day brings to our doors the haggard and hunted faces of fugitives from oppression. The Armenians, among the earliest professors of Christianity, once a proud and noble race, whose numbers have been decimated time and again by organized massacres, daily reach our shores, and give thanks to God that they are sheltered beneath the Stars and Stripes, far beyond the reach of their Russian and Ottoman oppressors. Only yesterday we read with throbbing hearts of the massacre of thousands of helpless men, women, and children in Odessa, Kief, Kishineff, and a hundred cities, towns, and hamlets throughout Russia. So long as these terrible outbreaks of religious fanaticism and class hatred disgrace our age and our civilization, let us not forget the everlasting meaning of the imprint the feet of the Pilgrims made upon our continent, that it shall ever be a "shelter for the poor and the persecuted." To bar out these refugees from

political oppression or religious intolerance, who bring a love of liberty hallowed by sacrifices made upon the altar of an enlightened conscience, though their pockets be empty, is a grievous wrong, and in violation of the spirit of our origin and development as a free people, for they, too, have God's right to tread upon American soil, which the Pilgrims have sanctified as the home of the refugee.

"Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod,
They have left unstained what there they found—
Freedom to worship God."

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT ELIOT, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

You have already heard that a few Jews came to America very early in the settlement of this country, and through their efforts after freedom for themselves and their descendants, took active part in the development of civil and religious liberty on the new continent; but the large Jewish immigration has taken place within the last twenty-five years, so that its widespread effects are all the more striking because they are so recent. If ever any race came hither in search of liberty and equality before the law, and of the safety and prosperity which industry and virtue can win in a fresh land under just conditions, it is the Jews who have come to the United States since 1880. They have literally sought here freedom to worship God, freedom to live in peace, freedom to earn a livelihood by honest toil—all these liberties being denied them in the places whence they came.

The Jewish race has been unique in its sufferings. Enslaved in Egypt, carried into captivity by Assyria, overrun by Rome, ghettoed and systematically robbed by mediæval Europe, banished at one time or another from most European countries, at this day persecuted and butchered by Russia and Roumania, the long story of their terrible woes has come down through thousands of years to the present moment. As a race they have not exhibited—at least, not for many generations past—the martial qualities; but they have shown the most astonishing endurance and vitality, and their intellectual and moral qualities have survived every

conceivable kind of physical and moral oppression. If the race has been unique in its sufferings, it has also been unique in its power of resistance and endurance. To what is this power due? The answer to this question is plain; and it is highly instructive to other races, and indeed to all men who aspire and hope. The Jewish power of endurance and survival is due to their religious faith.

For the whole civilized world this race has been the source of all the highest conceptions of God, man, and nature. Through this race was developed not only the Hebrew religion, but also the Christian religion; for the Christian religion was only an outcome or development of the religion of the Hebrews, the early expounders of the new religion, afterwards called Christian, being exclusively Jews. I say that the highest conceptions of God, man, and nature are all Jewish. Let us examine each of these three conceptions. The Jews originated, and still preserve, the loftiest descriptions of the attributes of God. For them thousands of years ago He was the one only God, a pure Spirit, infinite in knowledge, power, and good will. He was an almighty God, who worked to create and maintain, loved, and was to be loved. The descriptions of this one God in Hebrew literature have never been equaled; and they can never be surpassed. In many other literatures are found cosmogonies, or accounts of the creation of the universe; but nowhere can be found an account of creation so superb and so sound, all modern knowledge and speculation taken into account, as that given in the first sentence of the Hebrew Bible: "In the beginning God created the

heavens and the earth." Again, the Jewish conceptions of man's nature, as set forth in the Old and New Testaments, sound all depths and reach all heights. Human lust, cruelty, and treachery, and human misery and sorrow can never be more vividly portrayed than they are in the Hebrew Scriptures. Neither can the splendors of human courage, magnanimity, and justice, the steady glow of human love, and the incitements of courage and hope, be more nobly set forth. Concerning man, the Jewish seers asked all the fundamental questions which subsequent philosophers have ever asked, and answered them better. "What is man that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that Thou visitest him?" is one of these fundamental questions; and how glorious the answer: "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor." God did not leave the dignity of man to be expounded by nineteenth-century scholars and divines; thousands of years ago Jewish prophets taught their doctrine in all its amplitude. Thirdly, the ancient Hebrew poetry is full of the aptest, sweetest, and most impressive descriptions of Nature and all her works, and of the influence of Nature on the spirit of man. Innumerable phrases are of immortal beauty. "Let there be light: and there was light." "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades?" "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures." "He leadeth me beside the still waters." "Consider the lilies how they grow." No race has ever surpassed the Jewish descriptions of either the beauties or the terrors of the nature which environs man.

Another tap-root of Jewish endurance and vitality is the race's power of prayer. Prayer is the supreme effort of the human intelligence—the effort of finite man to commune with, and even to speak to, the Infinite. The Jews have always had, and still have, an extraordinary influence on their own race, and now on all civilized races, through their marvelous genius in prayer. Consider for a moment what an influence on the human race the few short sentences brought together in the Lord's Prayer have had. Those sentences have been solemnly uttered by untold millions of mankind, are uttered every day by millions—by little children and men and women at the most sacred moment of the day, in the sweetest mood of the day, in gregarious worship, in the utmost solitude of the soul, in the most loving communion of parents and children. Now every clause in the Lord's Prayer is thoroughly Jewish. Every phrase is instinct with Jewish sentiment. It was first uttered by a Jew, and then remembered and transmitted by Jews. It perfectly illustrates a distinctive and permanent power of that race.

One other quality of the Jews has had much to do with their survival as a race. In their family relations they are singularly pure, tender, and devoted. This may be in part a consequence of the cruel persecutions to which almost all Jewish communities have been, first or last, subjected. Each family was bound together by the pressure of external wrongs, and only in the family home could be found consolation and hope; but clearly their religion fostered filial piety. "Honor thy father and thy mother" is a command

on a level with " Thou shalt have no other gods before me."

These moral and spiritual attributes of the Jews have brought them in comparative safety through formidable physical and moral evils which have stretched through thousands of years. At last the race has found a land where it can develop in peace and freedom. If there is any human stock on earth which should love and honor America, it is the Jewish stock. It finds here freedom not only to worship as they choose the God of their fathers, but opportunity to reap the fruits of their racial industry, frugality, and intelligence. In other centuries and other places they have been excluded from the professions and from many arts and trades. Here all callings are open to them. Their genius for commerce and trade, for music and the fine arts, here has free play. They will also have here a precious opportunity to improve the bodily qualities of their race, impaired by the oppression of ages. The race is sometimes called a pure race, in the sense that it is free from admixtures from other races; but this is by no means the case. Scattered as they have been through many nations, they have everywhere mixed with the people among whom they lived; and accordingly there are many different types of Jews now coming hither, as the Polish, the German, and the Roumanian. By the admixture of these various types, the bodily and mental attributes of the race can be greatly improved, and this improvement will be one result of the welcoming freedom they here enjoy. A race which receives such benefits from our free institutions will become ardent

supporters of civil and religious liberty. This devotion on the part of the Jewish race to the characteristic institutions of America will be fostered by the nature of their ecclesiastical organizations. Following ancient custom their congregations are all independent, or autonomous, like those of the Christian denomination called Congregational; so that their synagogues and temples are places of training for self-government and the wise exercise of liberty.

Let all the other national stocks which have met on the fresh territory of the Republic welcome the Jewish stock to a free competition in racial intelligence, morality, and honor; and let all the other races in America recognize the fact that the prodigious vitality of the Jews is due at bottom to a sublime religious idealism.

Knowing that the Governor-elect, Mr. Straus, and President Eliot were to precede me I have not written or prepared a paper, for I was sure that they would suggest every thought that I should present, and in an abler way than I could. This they have successfully done. All, therefore, that is left for me to do is to present to you a few of the same thoughts, but in such an informal way as may suggest a personal debt, and as a bishop of the Christian Church, an official obligation to the Jewish people.

1. The whole Christian Church is under daily obligation to the faith, history, and traditions of the Hebrews. I cannot forget that every time we offer our prayers and praises in our Christian churches we are expressing our faith in the language of the ancient and chosen people.

From the beginning to the end of the service the Psalter, lessons, prayers, and hymns are either in the very words of the Jewish lawgivers, singers, and prophets, or else saturated with their thought and character.

Dear as we of the Christian Church hold our faith, we are bound and glad to confess that it is based upon the deep and broad foundations which were revealed by God through the Hebrew people. To your fathers in the blood and our common fathers in the faith we give grateful thanks.

2. Men of faith are men of ideals. The Jews are essentially idealists. In this age when, with the overcoming of physical obstacles through the settlement

of new countries and the increase of wealth, the material side of life is so fully recognized, it is of the utmost importance that those who are in the midst of these influences, and especially those who may become leaders, should be idealists.

May we venture to hope that the great inflow of Jews to this country will reinforce that idealism which was planted here by the Puritans who founded their faith, traditions, law, and govermnent so closely along the lines of the old Dispensation? Immersed as you are and ought to be in the struggle for a living for yourselves and your families or in the legitimate increase of your fortunes, it is well to recall the finer traditions of your race, that insight which through the wars, social revolutions, and political overthrows, always saw God's hand, wrought for higher spiritual truth and brought the righteousness of heaven into the affairs of this earth.

Idealists you have been through the centuries, idealists may you remain in this land of promise.

3. It is one of the temptations of religious faith to cut itself off from character and dwell in the dreams of emotions.

Mysticism is an essential feature of faith. The ancient Jews had it. But they were safeguarded by the ethical foundation of their religion. The greatest Jews of old were lawgivers and the interpreters of God's law to the people of their day.

How the righteousness, the justice, and the anger of God against a sinning people ring out from the past and mingle with the songs of His love and transcendent glory!

The need in the Christian Church to-day is for a deeper faith in a righteous God, for an interpretation of religion which is ethical. To the ancient scriptures of Judaism we turn for our guidance. We Christians may learn from you to-day.

I would not be true to myself or my faith if I did not express my conviction that we have in the Christian faith a far deeper and broader foundation for character and the development of an ethical temper than exists in the Hebrew faith. The future of mankind is wrapped up in the integrity of the Christian faith.

Yet again I say that the Christian Church is under obligation to the ethical temper of the Jewish faith; that in your coming to this land there came this great contribution to religion, and throughout its history the character of this nation is to be based upon a faith which, deep and spiritual, is, therefore, ethical, and intimately concerned with the affairs, the business, the politics, and the social life of men.

In connection with this will you allow me to emphasize what it was on my mind to say, and what President Eliot has already mentioned, that the integrity of the family for which the Jew has always stood, is a tradition which is of the deepest value in this day and nation.

When the marriage tie is lightly regarded, the home neglected, and the rearing of children shirked by our people, we shall look to you to sustain your finest traditions of family and home.

4. Mr. Straus has reminded you that for many centuries you have suffered for your faith; that out

of the furnace of affliction your characters have been refined; that you are inured to suffering and molded for sacrifice.

In this land of liberty and equality you will be called upon for no such suffering; the burdens of persecution you will not have to bear.

In what cause may your powers of endurance be put to the test? What burdens are you, whose shoulders have been made strong, going to carry? In whose service will you be glad to suffer? Surely you will not belie your past through the easy enjoyment of liberty, personal ambition, or fortune.

You will sustain your traditions.

This great democracy lays upon every man the burden of the Government. It demands of all its citizens sacrifice. Our cities and villages, our caucuses and elections, our schools and State and National Governments are calling for the richest sacrifice, not, to be sure, of our blood—to pour that out in heroic death is easy—but of our lives, our time, our thought, our moral courage, our independence of character, ourselves.

Here is the great opportunity of the Jewish people: to live, to suffer, if need be, for the purity of the State, to carry the burdens of the people, to lift our political and social life to higher standards.

Some of your brethren are already standing true and to the front. They are calling to all to follow.

Thus by your public spirit you will be built into the national fabric.

For in this nation and century lies an opportunity never before given to the Jewish people—that of

entering on even terms with the whole people into the government of a nation, its political, social, and religious life.

The people of all lands who come here are on trial; you are on trial; the good name of humanity is here at stake on this one point: shall you and they join together, and as one people make of this nation one to which all men may look as in charity, purity, and righteousness, the Land of Promise?

Tennyson speaks somewhere of

. . . some broad river rushing down alone
With the self-same impulse wherewith he was thrown,
And, in the middle of the green salt sea,
Keeps his blue waters fresh for many a mile.

That simile has long served me as a symbol of the Jew. Viewed objectively, he has seemed to me to be like a clearly marked gulf stream in the ocean of humanity,—plainly a part of it, yet never lost in it. Here in America, that ancient social fact continues. The Jew's isolation, despite the mingling of his current with the vaster waters, is still apparent. Indeed, Jews and non-Jews alike are so accustomed to thinking of the Jew as a separate social element, that I am not surprised that the question is asked: "What has been the special contribution of the Jew to America?" A rather difficult query, because his is largely only a seeming separateness. And then, too, whatever the Jew's contribution may have been, it has, in the main, been made unconsciously. However, a human group, which has in its progress through all the ages maintained an identity as marked as that of the gulf stream in the ocean, must have some distinct and characteristic, if not distinctive, traits. I have no theological or metaphysical notions about the persistent survival of the Jews despite experiences which would seem sufficient to have annihilated them. I am neither orthodox enough Jew to believe that God would not let

His "chosen people" perish, nor orthodox enough Christian to believe that the Jews are kept alive as a "horrible example," to show the sufferings which must come to a people which refuses to "accept Christ."

Simply I face the fact of the Jew's almost uncanny survival, and I say, in the spirit of social science: "Here you have another case of the survival of fitness." Reference has been made to the supposed fact that the Jew needs the opportunity for physical regeneration which America affords him. On the contrary, I am surprised at the vitality and the physical excellence which the Jewish immigrant brings hither, after all these centuries of unfavorable physical environment. That we are a volcano of nerves is not to be wondered at, since most Jews for ages were conceived and born in terror. And still it is not to be denied that America and freedom will benefit the Jew physically. But surely no one will claim that the Jew is degenerated morally or mentally or spiritually. "What of that," do you ask? And I answer: "Everything of that!" And I insist that you have in the Jews a social group which has learned the science, and which practices the art, of living.

Consider what has been the experience of the Jew at the hands of his fellow-men; consider the fires that have tried to melt him out of shape and the waters which have attempted to pull him apart; think how little of normal human existence he has known these past two thousand years—and then you will realize why he is bent here, twisted, crooked or warped there; then you will understand the superficial un-

pleasantnesses of the man in whom, as Isaiah says, "when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him." But even then you will not know the Jew. For remember, all his ugly outward experiences have not been able to uglify his soul, they have not unmade the *Jew, the man*! In the lower strata even, among the Jews, the average of humanness runs high.

In a word, the Jew is civilized. Long ago he learned the lessons of living and what is man's business on earth. And what is that business? Merely to become human—to lose the beastly, to subdue the savage, to subordinate the animal, *to become human.* Having learned that lesson, the Jew was fitted to survive. One beastly, savage, animalistic "civilization" after another perished. But the Jew survived —because he was really civilized! He thought himself "chosen"—he had chosen himself, making humanness and mankind his business! Moral monotheism became, at the same time, his philosophy of life and his interpretation of the universe. It became his passion, his very being, his whole existence. This served to sublimate him, to intensify his humanness and thus to increase his fitness for survival. It was his inward and unfailing fount of strength, his outward and impenetrable coat of mail. He could shout: "Though my enemies encompass me, in the name of the Lord I shall triumph over them!" It enabled him at death, whether in peaceful bed or on the inquisitor's rack, to proclaim again the victory of faith: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One!"

Though the first Jewish settlers came hither two

hundred and fifty years ago, most of us in this vicinity are comparative newcomers, not more than twenty-five years old as Americans. That matters little, since the Jew is an old hand anywhere at doing the world's work. And he feels easily at home in America, consecrated as this nation is to the very ideals which have preserved and glorified the Jew.

I feel moved to say that the Jew's separateness will continue until total humanity is as human as its "gulf stream." Anyhow, none will deny that the Jew's separateness has been worth while, and that he has contributed a worthy element to America and to the world. That fact we are celebrating here to-night. I believe that the Jew will continue loyal to his calling, the same from Abraham's and Isaiah's day to this: to be the glad slave of the ideal, to be intensely and broadly human, to be civilized, to be the servant (if need be, still the suffering servant) of humanity. In that hope and faith, let me bring this meeting to a close, in a manner befitting the occasion and the sacred hall in which we are, by reciting as a sort of benediction, in King Solomon's original Hebrew, the words of Boston's civic seal, SICUT DEUS NOBIS SICUT PATRIBUS:

יהי יהוה אלהינו עמנו כאשר היה עם־אבתינו׃

"The Lord our God be with us as he was with our Fathers!"

SELECTED ADDRESSES

THE ADDRESS BY MR. MARSHALL WAS DELIVERED IN ALBANY; THE ADDRESSES BY DR. COHEN AND REV. DR. KRAUSKOPF WERE DELIVERED IN PHILADELPHIA; JUDGE MACK AND REV. DR. HIRSCH IN CHICAGO; REV. DR. KOHLER AND REV. DR. PHILIPSON IN CINCINNATI; REV. DR. HELLER IN NEW ORLEANS; GOVERNOR PARDEE, PRESIDENT WHEELER, AND REV. DR. VOORSANGER IN SAN FRANCISCO; AND THE LETTER FROM GOVERNOR FOLK WAS READ AT THE MEETING IN ST. LOUIS

The words of the Psalmist, with which we began our evening service, most appropriately depict the spirit which should prevail on this historic occasion:

"It is good to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises to the Most High."

Throughout the limits of this, our beloved country, our Jewish brethren are now assembled to commemorate the auspicious day on which the first Jewish settlers built their homes within these boundaries, and to indulge in thanksgiving to the God of Israel for the blessings that have resulted from that momentous fact.

A survey of the civilized world, as it existed two hundred and fifty years ago, indicates that so far as the Jew was concerned—politically, materially, socially—his fortunes were at the lowest ebb. Driven from England in 1290, for 365 years no Jews had been permitted to live in the land which has become the mother of freedom. Driven from Spain in 1492, and shortly thereafter from Portugal, none of Jewish stock, save the Marranos, whose outward lives were the incarnation of falsehood, dwelt upon the Iberian Peninsula. In 1648, the Cossack uprising under Chmielnicki transformed the dream of peace and prosperity of the Russian and Polish Jews into the horrible reality which has ever since overwhelmed them with an avalanche of misery, wretchedness, and degradation. The Jews of Germany and Austria dwelt within Ghetto walls, and suffered from every species

of insult, contumely, and discrimination. In France and Italy the Jew was a Pariah and an outcast.

Holland was the sole oasis in the desert of human malevolence. There the Jew and the Puritan, the ancient and the modern people of the Book, found a haven of refuge, and behind the dikes of toleration of that enlightened country, were afforded protection from the wild sea of persecution which menaced them.

From Holland sailed the *Mayflower* with its precious cargo of humanity. Thence sailed a party of Jews, to found a colony in Brazil, which then owed allegiance to the Netherlands. For a time fortune smiled on the colonists. They prospered. They were happy. Their hearts were filled with gratitude to the God who had enabled Columbus to discover the new continent, not with the aid of the jewels of Isabella, but with that of the Jews, whose funds supplied the caravels which formed the discoverer's convoy.

But their joy was shortlived. In 1654 Portugal wrested from Holland the Brazilian territory, and these children of "the tribe of the wandering foot" were once more compelled to take up their pilgrimage to seek more favorable skies. A party of twenty-three set sail on the *St. Catarina* for New Amsterdam, believing that Holland, with which they had united their fortunes, owed to them, somewhere, a resting place. In their hasty departure they were compelled to sacrifice their possessions, and, to secure the captain of the vessel for their transportation, each of that band of refugees became sponsor for the others and pledged his person and his goods to attain that har-

bor, around which there now dwells the largest Jewish community the world has ever known.

It is a source of inspiration, not only to their descendants, but to the entire country as well, that the grandchildren of the Pilgrim Fathers annually celebrate their historic landing on Plymouth Rock, and dwell upon the virtues of their ancestors, their devotion to principle, their willingness to make every sacrifice for the right to exercise their consciences, their struggles, and their triumphs.

It will serve equally as an inspiration to us, and as a valuable lesson to our fellow-citizens of other denominations, to become better acquainted with the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers who, when the inhabitants of what is destined to become the cosmopolis, consisted of a mere handful, landed here, as the pioneers of Jewish settlement. They were poor and humble, as were the Fathers of the Knickerbockers. They were unfortunate, as were most of the dwellers in the infant colony. They were imbued with a deep and abounding trust in God, a virtue possessed by the greater part of our early American colonists. They differed in one respect only—they were the victims of the prejudice and of the intolerance of the entire world.

Their greeting in New Amsterdam was inauspicious. Their goods, which had been pledged for their transportation, were seized. Two of their number were imprisoned as hostages until the funds should arrive with which to meet the obligations of the party. Peter Stuyvesant, the hard-headed and the irascible, moved by the bigotry of the age, gave notice that the

new arrivals were not only unwelcome, but would not be received, and that they must once more cross the dreary waste of waters to seek anew, if such there were, a place to rest their weary feet.

Surely this was a condition more serious than the hyperborean blasts of winter, the defiant war cry of the savage Indian, the terrors and privations of the wilderness. But that small band was composed of that stuff which builds states and nations—men, self-respecting, dignified, permeated with the Maccabean spirit; men cognizant of their rights, devoted to principle, seeking justice, who were willing, if need were, to fight for the recognition of their manhood. And so, when Stuyvesant threatened deportation and sought to slam the gates of America in the faces of these Jewish immigrants, they did not tamely or cringingly submit, they did not fawn or bend the suppliant knee, but they appealed to the Dutch West India Company, which was the controlling power over the colony, insisting upon their right to become inhabitants of New Netherland.

As a result, on April 26th, 1655, a glorious day in the history of Israel, came from Holland the charter of our liberties, based not on sufferance, but on considerations of equity and justice, in which was proclaimed this message, replete with healing to those aching hearts:

"After many consultations we have decided and resolved upon a certain petition made by said Portuguese Jews, that they shall have permission to sail to and trade in New Netherlands and to live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not

become a burden to the company or to the community, but be supported by their own nation."

And so they found a spot upon the globe on which the right to live and to remain was granted to them.

But to live, oft-times means but to vegetate; to crave and beg; to slink with downcast eyes before a master's frown; to sow in terror and to reap in dread; to see the bows of promise fade and die. This, too, might have been the fate of our pioneers, had there not been among them a man of heroic stature, of Titanic mold, worthy to occupy a commanding position in the Walhalla of our early American history. High looms up the figure of Asser Levy, a man whose name I can never mention without the deepest reverence, the protagonist of Jewish rights and liberties in America, the embodiment of the Jew militant, the prototype of the American revolutionist, than whom there is no one in the history of our people more worthy to be held in honored memory. The records of New Amsterdam overflow with civic victories attained by him, more potent in their consequences than those won on the bloody fields of battle.

Stuyvesant, smarting under the reversal of his policy by his superiors, became a strict constructionist of the grant which enabled the Jews to trade in New Netherland, and forbade them to trade at Fort Orange, your present city of Albany, or in the direction of the Delaware. Promptly the Jews appealed to Holland, and promptly came a decree permitting trade to be carried on throughout the Dutch possessions.

The rights given to the Jews were then declared by Stuyvesant not to include that of holding real property. Once more an appeal was taken to the authorities, and again the Jew prevailed, and Asser Levy became the first Jewish owner of real property within the United States, and it will be interesting for you to know that this acquisition of property, as has been established by our distinguished friend, Mr. Rosendale, took place in 1661, in your own city, one year before a Jew became the owner of real property in the City of New York.

At this time, life in New Amsterdam was far from secure. The enemies of Holland threatened from the sea, and the Indians from the land, and it became necessary for the burghers to stand guard for the protection of their homes. Stuyvesant would not permit the Jews to exercise this right of municipal defense, and imposed on them, in lieu of that obligation, a special tax. The tax collector came to Asser Levy with his warrant. "Is this tax imposed on all of the residents of New Amsterdam?" was the question propounded. "No," was the reply; "it is only imposed upon the Jews, because they do not stand guard." "I have not asked to be exempted," said Asser Levy; "I am not only willing, but I demand the right to stand guard." "But you are not a citizen," was the objection which met him. "Then what is there to prevent my becoming a citizen?" was his proud rejoinder. A new contest arose; Stuyvesant quailed before the resolute man, and Asser Levy became the first Jewish citizen in America, acquiring that priceless badge of manhood which, it was then

contended, had never been completely conferred even on those Jews who resided in Amsterdam itself.

Levy having thus the right of a burgher, asked to become one of the sworn butchers of the community. He was refused because of his religion, but, as usual, he fought, and the right was accorded to him, with the added condition, upon which he insisted, religious Jew as he was, that he should not be compelled to slaughter swine.

There are records extant of upward of seventy litigations in which this remarkable man was engaged. He was his own counsel, and, almost without exception, he succeeded in his contentions, because they were right and consisted merely of a demand for justice. He was not a respecter of persons, He even sued a member of the Governor's family for enticing away a servant, and withal he gained the respect, not only of the community in which he lived, of its inhabitants and its governing body, but he was even called into Connecticut for the purpose of adjusting differences and of protecting the rights of his brethren in faith. His civic and tolerant spirit was evidenced by the fact that he loaned money to the Lutheran congregation to enable it to build a house of worship, a spirit subsequently manifested in 1711 by the Jews of that time, who contributed a substantial amount for the erection of a steeple for Trinity Church in the City of New York.

Would that there were Asser Levys in Russia in these trying days; that our unfortunate brethren there might have had such beginnings as those which we owe to his indomitable spirit; that the conscious-

ness of the rights of manhood might beat in the bosoms of the oppressed everywhere with the same force and virility that it did in the breasts of our Jewish pioneers! Russian history might not then be written with the blood of defenseless martyrs, and this hour of our thanksgiving would not be embittered with the grief, the sorrow, the depression of soul, which have been evoked by the unspeakable brutality and bestiality which have transformed the Jewish quarters throughout the awful Pale of Settlement in hapless Russia, into slaughter pens and reeking shambles.

The colonial Jew availed himself of his rights. He freely engaged in trade and commerce, on a large scale, as an exporter and importer. His merchandise floated on every sea. His enterprises were extensive. He invaded the wilderness and added largely to the productive wealth of the country with which he became identified. During the Revolutionary War he cast his fortunes with the infant republic. He served in the Continental Army. In the dark days, when the British seized New York, the majority of the leading Jews, leaving their property behind them, removed to Philadelphia, loyal to the country which they felt to be their own. When the treasury was well-nigh empty, Haym Salomon loaned out of his private fortune, sums of money which in those days seemed enormous, a large part of which was never repaid to him or to his descendants. Not only did he furnish funds to the Government, but, without his munificence, such men as Madison, as they themselves confessed, would have been unable to have given to

the cause of liberty the energies which they devoted to it.

But why recite these instances of the loyalty of the American Jew to this Government? At every juncture, in every crisis, he has made the cause of this country his own, because he knew himself to be, and was, an integral part of the American people. It is to point out that fact, to prove that the Jew is not a parasite, an exploiter of the country, or a newcomer within its gates, that we are celebrating on this occasion. It is not to call attention to the Jew as a religious factor, but as a civic element in the grand composite of American citizenship. He is an American of the Americans—a Jew by faith and religion, an American in all that that term can betoken.

It is remarkable how quickly the Jewish immigrant, both he of the early days, as well as he of to-day, absorbs the ideals and the spirit of this country; how quickly he responds to the test of good citizenship; how ready he is to make every sacrifice for the country which recognizes him as one of its component parts; how grateful he is to the Almighty for having blessed the earth with a land whose government is based on the great principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, of justice and righteousness.

If the hitherto inert mass of the Russian people could but be made to see that those whom it has regarded as an alien race, from whom it has withheld every right and every privilege, whom it has oppressed and repressed, out of whom it has sought to drive every hope and every aspiration, whom it has crushed beneath the iron heel of tyranny, and under

the infinitely heavier stigma of contempt, hatred, and obloquy, when transplanted to American soil, in a few years become dignified, industrious, patriotic, self-respecting, and productive citizens, they would recognize the tremendous moral and economic loss that their country is sustaining as a result of its cruelly insane policy, and repent of their stupendous and criminal folly.

Our fellow-citizens, at least, fully appreciate that we are of them and they of us, together constituting a single unit—that of the American citizen; that our title is as ancient as theirs; that it is not conferred upon us as a matter of favor or of grace; that we have earned it by fighting for it; that our blood has been shed upon the battle-fields of the republic for its preservation, and that we cherish it as a priceless possession, and love the country from which we have derived it, because it is our own, and because it is the first in modern times in which the Jew secured the precious boon of full citizenship.

The charter from the Dutch West India Company contained, as we have seen, but a single condition, that which provided that the poor among us should not become a burden to the community, but should be supported by us. Have we fulfilled that obligation? Let the records of the nation be our answer. Let the statistics concerning the poor and the dependent speak for us. Let the magnificent charitable institutions maintained solely by the Jews of this country, and which are to be found in every State, in every city, be our witnesses. Let the public authorities indicate whether throughout the two hundred and fifty

years of our American settlement, we have ever failed in performing either the letter or the spirit of this blessed condition. The burden has oft-times been a grievous one; there is every reason to believe that for a time, at least, it will not be diminished; but to me it is a source of pride and exultation that, although we are citizens of a common country, the religious duty of caring for our own brethren, of standing by their side in the days of their wretchedness and misery and poverty, of extending to them the helping hand of brotherhood, of enabling them to rise to the heights of citizenship, and of becoming useful members of the State, self-reliant, self-supporting, self-respecting, has been especially imposed upon us. May we never prove recreant to this holy obligation, to this tremendous trust, and may our descendants never forget the debt of gratitude that they owe to the first Jewish settlers, nor we the gratitude that we owe to the God of our fathers, Who has led us out of Egypt into this land of freedom.

A WAY IN THE SEA AND A PATH IN THE MIGHTY WATERS

Address by Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen

We are met to-night as American citizens to celebrate an incident in the history of our country, fraught with good promise for the common weal; a promise amply fulfilled by the event. We are also met as descendants of an ancient people and adherents of an ancient faith, to celebrate the same incident in its relation to our religion and our race.

Two hundred and fifty years, the fourth of a millennium, is a long period, if measured by the era of the independence of these United States—which has fulfilled little more than the half of that tale; but it is only a brief while in the history of Israel. In the Eternal Vision, as it regards men and nations and events, the time is neither brief nor long; for therein "a thousand years are even as a day while it passes, or as a watch in the night." Centuries may come and go in dull monotony or in dark debasement, and a single moment shall flash with sudden brilliance as of Horeb's bush, illuminating all time to come.

It is not, therefore, the mere passage of the years that we have assembled to commemorate. Nor have we gathered here only that we may felicitate ourselves upon the growth of our nation or of our church, upon the strength and wealth of the republic that we have helped to upbuild, or upon the rights and immunities, the material progress, the intellectual development, the moral expansion of the house of Israel in

America, during these two hundred and fifty sun-circlings of the earth. If antiquity were the only merit of our congregations and our homes, then though we had survived, like the fabled toad in the rock, through a thousand, nay, ten thousand, years of slothful uselessness, yet would silence be the better part; for in such case not pride were ours, but shame.

Happily, we are not condemned by shame to silence. We may take a just pride in the work done by those of our race and faith for God and for man upon this Western continent; a work that began longer ago than a quarter-millennium, and that shall, God willing, go on while man endures upon the earth. Jews had probably settled in North America before the *St. Catarina* brought her precious cargo of souls from Brazil to New Amsterdam; and whether or not it be true that the first white man to set foot upon West Indian soil was a secret Jew, Columbus's interpreter, it is now a commonplace of knowledge that Jews were among the crew of "the world-seeking Genoese"; that his vessels were equipped by the munificence, not of Queen Isabella, but of some of her Jewish subjects, and that the theories, predictions, charts, and instruments by which was inspired and guided that momentous voyage, were, in large, if not largest, part, the work of Jewish astronomers and Jewish navigators.

Thus there comes into the minds of all here assembled, the thought of those historic coincidences so often commented upon, and yet ever so full of new meanings. On the ninth day of Ab, 3174 (586 B.C.E.), Nebuchadrezzar, the Chaldean, the most powerful empire builder of the East, took Jerusalem

and destroyed its temple. On the ninth day of Ab, 3830 (70 C.E.), the second temple was destroyed by Titus, wielder of the Roman world-power. On the ninth day of Ab, 5262, Spain, soon to be chief among the nations of the West, thrust out from her gates 300,000 Jews who preferred exile to apostasy. That trebly sad *Tish'a b'Ab* was, in the Julian calendar, the second day of August, of the year 1492 of the Christian era. It brought to a close a watch in Israel's night, that had not been without its periods of splendid illumination by stars of wondrous brilliance. On the third day of August, 1492, Columbus set sail from Palos, in that same Spain, to open the gates of a new land wherein the "tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast" were to find freedom and peace—and the sustained light of day.

And yet another mournful historic parallel comes to mind. While the immigrants of the *St. Catarina* were struggling for and obtaining that recognition of their full right of manhood, their more than full obligation to the common weal and to their special community which is the most that Jews ask, the least that they ought to accept, in the countries of their dispersion—while in London, Cromwell and Manasseh ben Israel were holding the historic conference that led to the renewal of the right of Jews to reside openly in Great Britain—even then from the ground where tigerish bigotry had spilled it in a meteless flood, the voice of our brothers' blood called out to Heaven against the Russian Cain; and the singing and laughter that had filled the mouths of them delivered in the West, gave way to sobs and lamentation, re-

echoing the cries of them that had been overwhelmed by cruel hatred in the East. So to-day, at this season of national thanksgiving and of racial joy we are rudely awakened from our dream of universal brotherhood, and our cheers are hushed and our thoughts are sobered by the reflection that the day of persecution is not yet over; that the divine adventure of human history has not yet won to the extinction of the beast in man.

Does not our sorrow, however, give new force to the meaning of our festival? The Guardian of Israel slumbereth not nor sleepeth! Though the darkness of Russia seem impenetrable, it shall give way as the darkness "in the beginning," before the creative word. *V'ha-aretz hay'tah tohu va-bohu*—truly in that land is there a seething confusion; but *ruaḥ Elohim m'raḥefeth 'al p'ne ha-mayim*, the spirit of God is brooding over the face of the waters. How beautiful the imagery of the poet of old—divine love brooding! Brooding to bring forth light and life, order and law, and the knowledge of God that shall forever banish darkness and evil. Brooding over the waters! Is there not prophecy in the phrase? Over the waters passed the pillar of fire leading Moses and the hosts of God out of Egyptian darkness. Over the waters went Columbus to find a refuge for all that were oppressed and persecuted. Over the waters came the *St. Catarina* from the bigotry of New Portugal to the freedom of New Holland. Over the waters will He that hath made land and sea, who prepareth a way in the ocean and a path amid the billows, guide to a place of safe-abiding his faithful ones, out of the

land of Magog, yea, out of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal!

History is the working of the divine within man toward self-realization. Its parallels are significant, are inevitable, are complete. *Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin.* The doom of Babylon is fulfilled of all oppressors. From Latin, as from Chaldean, was empire torn; but all the countries and all the races that had acknowledged the sway of the conquerors, to-day build temples for the worship of Israel's unchanging God. The glory is departed from Spain, but in the lands spared or delivered from her grasp, the sons of her exiles still study the olden Law, still teach the everlasting truths. And now our eyes shall see the judgment of God, even as our ears have heard it. The end hath come of the mighty tyranny that rose up to do evil in the barbarian North. The oppressor shall be humbled, but the peoples redeemed from *Tsaroth*[1] shall rejoice!

We have not gathered to celebrate the passage of slothful years; neither have we assembled to vaunt the achievements of our fathers in this land. Some one has said that "the reward of well doing is the obligation to do better." But it was Abraham Lincoln who, in his immortal speech at Gettysburg, best phrased the thought that should be uppermost in our minds to-night. It is for us, the living, here to be dedicated to the unfinished work of the fathers of the republic, of the patriarchs of Israel. It is for us to

[1] The Biblical-Hebrew word צר *(Tsar)* means cruel oppressor. Its identity with the title of the "Autocrat of all the Russias" is, philologically, merely a coincidence.

take from the memories of the occasion, increased devotion to the great cause for which so many of our race have given the last full measure of devotion. It is for us highly to resolve that our fathers' steadfastness in life, our brothers' faithfulness unto death, shall not have been in vain. Unworthy shall we prove of the blood of prophets and martyrs, unworthy of the kinship of state builders, if the future of our country and of our race shall not be the nobler and the brighter, if freedom shall not be more fully established and brotherhood more firmly welded throughout the world, because of our present-day work as Americans, because of our present-day lives as Jews.

Vain is the recounting of the great deeds and great thoughts and great strivings of the past, if it fail to impress us with the deep significance of human history as a divine adventure—an adventure whereof every human being is at once part and partaker.

Behold the thought of God take shape in energy and in matter, in elemental atoms, in nebulas, in worlds. Through the deep that covers earth as with a garment, see, with the psalmist, the hills, the continents arise and the waters go down into the ocean-valleys. Look upon the teeming life of the seas, the living mantle of the fields, the creeping and the flying things, infinitesimal cell and great leviathan, the fruiting trees, the nesting birds, the four-footed beasts, and—crown and consummation of all—man that goeth forth with the sun to his labor until the evening.

For if the majesty of the world about us impress the mind with wondering awe, how deep the sense of reverence and mystery when the soul turns its gaze

upon mankind! So little is man, and yet so great! His habitation, but a point in the immensity of space; his years, an unregarded moment in eternity; his power, as nothing in the face of the mighty forces of the universe. Yet from this point in space, he has sent his vision forth to search infinity; in these unregarded years he has grappled with the mysteries of existence; and though flood and earthquake and volcano have threatened to overwhelm man and all his works in indistinguishable destruction, his race persists and his civilization goes on.

Well may Israel's sweet singer exclaim:

> When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
> The moon and the stars that thou hast ordained.
> What is man that thou regardest him?
> . . . .
> And yet thou hast made him but a little less than God,
> Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands!

Contemporary civilization glories chiefly in its conquest of external nature; but greatest of all human achievements is man's conquest of himself. This idea, elaborated variously in law and in legend, in poesy and in prophecy, is the Hebraic contribution to world-progress. Jacob, wrestling with the angel, becomes Israel. "Greater is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."

Over the works of His hands, God has indeed given man dominion, but he that is "but a little less than God" must achieve dominion over his own character and destiny. Thus does the breath of God which transformed the creature of dust into a living soul—

a soul that could become " even as God, to distinguish between good and evil "—realize itself ever more and more fully. To this end do men think and strive and suffer. To this end do nations clash and ideas contend. To this end is Israel's world-wide, age-long martyrdom. In dim apprehension of the truth have men won and cherished freedom. In knowledge of the truth must we seek ever to enlarge the freedom of nations and of individuals. So that the individual may find free scope to develop to the utmost his God-like faculties, so that all and each may preserve an equal freedom, nations must be governed by just laws. Two hundred and fifty years ago men had begun in Europe and in America to learn this lesson from the Jews' Bible. It was written large in the Declaration of Independence, and the history of the United States is the history of its modern development. In this development Jews have aided, and Jews must continue to aid.

Two conflicting views of the duty of man in upholding the truth are found in Hebrew history, in prophecy and in psalmody. Both have profoundly influenced American history to the establishment of justice. One inspired the Puritan; the other is the guide of the Quaker. Cromwell's maxim, " Trust in God and keep your powder dry," echoes the Psalmist's description of the saints militant, the Maccabean heroes with " God's high praises in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands." But Penn, true follower of Fox, quoted rather from Micah and Isaiah and hoped to hasten the time when men " shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into

pruning hooks." Despite recent sad events, that time is measurably nearer.

Man's conquest of himself, the true Jewish ideal, necessitates peace as the foundation of moral progress. This thought came into concrete political expression in the commonwealth of the Friends, and Jews early found within its borders a congenial home. They were also sympathetically attracted to the settlements of the German sectarians in Pennsylvania, whom Whittier, indeed, calls German Quakers, and some of whom, going still further than the Society of Friends in the return to Biblical teachings, observed the seventh-day Sabbath and abstained from forbidden food. The reciprocal influences of Pennsylvania's German communities upon the Jews, and of the Jews upon the German Christian sects, and the work of both together in giving to Pennsylvania her leadership among the colonies and States, offer to the historical student a fascinating field for original research.

There were Jews in the Valley of the Delaware, however, a generation before Penn arrived; probably before 1655, although 1657 seems the earliest date established by distinct records, and the names of the pioneers have been lost. The first name of a Jewish settler in Pennsylvania to be preserved is that of Jonas Aaron, who flourished about 1703; after that we find many names recorded; some among them being those of founders of settlements that are now flourishing towns; and some being still borne by honored citizens of the commonwealth. It is unnecessary, however, now and here to enter into particulars con-

cerning the personal and public activities of the Jewish citizens of Pennsylvania. The monographs of Rosenbach and of Morais, the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, various articles in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," and many recent papers in the daily journals have treated these subjects as fully as the data permit. They give a goodly list of Jews who took part in building up the colony and in achieving the liberty of the State and of the United States; who worthily and loyally filled responsible judicial and administrative positions as subjects of the British Crown, and who aided by voice, by pen, by sword, and by purse, to wrest from that Crown the power it had abused, when, in the course of human events, the time for independence had arrived.

It is not, however, upon the work of a few leaders in any day or generation that the welfare of the community depends, nor can we estimate by this alone the value of the contribution that any section of the community makes to the general weal. It is by the labors of the unnoted hundreds and thousands that mankind achieves its large results. Bone of the republic's bone, flesh of its flesh, are we. Not only in colonial and revolutionary times, not only in periods of stress and strife, but at every moment of the national life, we have shared, we shall continue to share to the full, in all the high endeavors of citizenship and of civilization. Men and women of our race and our religion have contributed to our country's art, its letters, and its science, its works of education and of benevolence, its commerce, its industry and its finance, its jurisprudence and its statesmanship. They have labored to

strengthen its faith in itself and in humanity, and to enlarge its realization that God's hand is over the nations. They have helped to keep alive its simple reverence for the moral law and the homely virtues. They have striven to make enduring the virtue, the liberty, and the independence of the city, the commonwealth, and the Union; to preserve for future generations the Hebraic, the American ideals of freedom, justice, and equality; to establish as the aim of all Americans, in all life's relations, the Jew's, the Friend's, ideal of peace.

But if the Jews have given much to America, America has also given much to the Jews. It is not only that to us, as to all other citizens, belong freedom and opportunity, and whoso chooses may live in peace as a member of the ancient church, that the community may establish its houses of worship and of study by right and not by toleration. It is not only that the moral and political power of the Federal Government has more than once been brought to bear in behalf of our oppressed brethren in the East. Apart from all this, the United States has exerted a tremendous and benevolent influence upon the history of Jews and Judaism. Shalmaneser and Sennacherib, Nebuchadrezzar and Titus, scattered the tribes of Israel; Columbus and Penn, Williams and Jefferson, have reunited them.

Dispersed in many lands, among many races; now honored, now degraded; now free and prosperous, now enslaved and persecuted; now leading the van of philosophy and science, now shut out from the sources of knowledge—their development, physical, mental, and

moral, has too often been thwarted or perverted. It has been influenced by a changing environment of nature, men and events, now helpfully, now harmfully,—often in a manner alien to the genius of Judaism.

America has been a meeting place for Jews representative of all the countries and customs of the dispersion. Thus it has given opportunity for fusion and recasting of the Jewish character. Local prejudices and un-Jewish accretions are in process of removal by attrition; essentials are becoming clearer to perception; and from the mingling of various elements will emerge a type better than anyone of its components—perhaps more nearly resembling the best in ancient Israel. To this type, each section of the house of Israel has made some worthy contribution.

The Sephardic congregations have, perhaps better than all others, realized in Jewish communal life that which the artist terms "values." Less eager to exchange old lamps for new, they have jealously preserved in home and in synagogue the beautiful customs and rites of ancient worship, the lofty ideals of ancient culture. The German communities added strength and enterprise, a better ability to face the facts of life, and, on the intellectual side, a more accurate scholarship. The Russian brings a new stream of traditional knowledge; and the avid intellect, so long starved or forced to feed upon itself, exhibits a pathetic hunger for universal learning, an insatiate thirst for every betterment. Surely Israel in America will become stronger and wiser and more

faithful as the German vigor, breadth, learning, and practicality, the Russian idealism, enthusiasm, and capacity for spiritual development, are fused with the loyalty, steadfastness, Jewish pride, simple dignity, and intelligent regard for olden things, that have characterized the Sephardim.

Time will be needed for the complete accomplishment of this fusion, but its beginnings are visible. Meanwhile the Russian element in American Jewry is already the most numerous; soon it must become dominant. Does the new generation, do the sons and grandsons of the immigrants of twenty-five years past, realize the tremendous responsibility that this involves? Jewish ideals and traditions, the citizenship loyally and honorably fulfilled, the faith preserved amid trials and vicissitudes, the learning ever cherished, are theirs to maintain and to advance. May not the representatives of the elder days turn to the heirs of the future and say: All this we give into your keeping—see that ye keep it well!

But after all, the Jews of America will ever be only a fraction, a small fragment, of the Jews of the world. To-day, the great mass are living under oppressive and anxious conditions in Russia. The dawn of their country's freedom, so long hoped for, so loyally wrought for, has brought them but bitter disappointment and new misery; and who can say what the future of monarchy or of republic in that distressed land, my hold of good or evil? Present and future are alike filled with dread. For all the suffering tribes and nations and classes of Russia we may wish peace and liberty; but to the Jews of Russia we

owe a special duty. For these, our brethren, there must be found a place to live, an opportunity to develop their manhood. Surely upon this fertile earth, there is somewhere an undeveloped land that waits their coming; a land which they may subdue to agriculture and herding and commerce and civilization—and the divine right of man!

There, albeit through toil and suffering, let a new state arise, upbuilded by Jews; as by the pioneers of centuries agone, Puritan, Cavalier, Quaker, Mennonite, Jew, were upbuilded the American colonies, the United States. There shall they who go forth from oppression to-day, found settlements upon the synagogue and the Bible, even as New England and Pennsylvania were founded upon the Bible and the meetinghouse. There active brain and sturdy arm shall wrestle with and conquer nature, while patient, steadfast heart pursues its conquest over self. Nor shall there be a forgetting of Zion, but rather a loyal preparation for her days of renewed youth—days yet in the hidden future.

The world is older than when Columbus sailed from Palos; than when the *St. Catarina* entered Manhattan harbor; than when Penn sent forth his colony of Friends. Conditions have changed; the migration of thousands, the upbuilding of a new state in a new land, will need greater encouragement, more substantial assistance. Let us who have been blessed with birth in the United States or with admittance to its freedom and its opportunities, not fail our brothers in assistance or in good will. From our gathering tonight and from the gatherings that are to follow, let

a message of courage and of faith go forth to them that grieve in Meschech and lament in Kedar. Let it tell them that our aid shall not be the mere dole of money for passing needs; but that it shall be a persistent force seeking a permanent good. Let it tell them that our hands are indeed open to relieve their great distress, but that we shall not be content to salve our consciences with almsgiving; that we are earnestly uniting to work for them and with them unto the achievement of liberty and human rights, and that we shall not cease from our endeavors until a way shall be opened for their deliverance over the waters, into a new land of freedom and of hope.

THE JEWISH PILGRIM FATHERS

Address by Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf

Is it accident or is it decree of Providence that the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of Jews in the harbor of New York should be darkened by the sorrows that have fallen upon the house of Israel? Much as so auspicious an event in the story of the wandering Jew deserves fitting commemoration, it is impossible for him to rejoice this side of the Atlantic, when, on the yonder side, in the terror-ridden land of the Czar, hundreds of families have been widowed and orphaned, thousands of homes pillaged and outraged, and hundreds of thousands placed in constant terror lest the very next hour witness a reënactment of the massacres of Odessa and Kishineff. And, besides, it is difficult to rejoice in the freedom that is ours, when in yonder land of bondage, half of the Jews of the world are still in slavery, still denied not only citizenship rights in return for discharging their citizenship duties, but even their humán rights. In days as rich in memories of blessings as these, there seems to be a special charge addressed to us in the question that Lowell asks:

> If there breathe on earth a slave
> Are ye truly free and brave?
> If you do not feel the chain
> When it works a brother's pain
> Are ye not base slaves indeed
> Slaves unworthy to be freed?

The more we dwell upon the theme that has brought us together to-day, the less do we see of acci-

dent in the synchronous happening of the Russian atrocities and the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first settlement of Jews in the United States, the more clearly seems to stand out the design of God. He, who has guided the destiny of Israel along paths that have often baffled our understanding, but that have proven in the end that His thoughts are higher than our thoughts, and His ways better than ours, may have chosen the present time for the imparting of lessons which the world has long had need to learn, and for the ripening of purposes for which the hour has come. Perhaps it is to draw Russia's attention to the proud achievement of the American Jew. Perhaps it is to open her eyes to the blessings of which she has deprived herself by cursing the most valuable of her citizens. Perhaps it is to speed her granting her Jewish subjects the rights and liberties that America has granted to the Jew, and thereby enable him to become the valuable factor in the intellectual and moral and industrial life of Russia that he has become in the United States. Perhaps it is to send a ray of light to illumine the gloom that now compasses our brethren in the land of their affliction, a breath of hope to those who now languish and faint in the slough of despond. Perhaps, by drawing the attention of the world to the contrast between Russia and the United States, and between the difference of treatment accorded to the Jew in these respective countries, its design is to emphasize anew the prophecy of old: "cursed are they that curse the Jew, and blessed they that bless him."

Blessed has been the lot of the Jew in the United

States, and blessed have been the United States in blessing him. It is a marvelous story, that of the settling of the Jew on the Western continent, and the more we read and study it, the stronger grows the belief that it was the hand of Providence that opened for Columbus and for the Jews accompanying him the portals of the new world, to afford a resting place at last to the " tribe of the wandering foot and weary breast," and a haven to all others seeking shelter and peace.

Like a chapter of romance reads the answer to the question that Longfellow asks in the Jewish cemetery at Newport,

> How came they here? What burst of Christian hate
> What persecution merciless and blind
> Drove o'er the sea—that desert desolate—
> These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind?

It is at the hour of dawn, on the morn of August 3, 1492, that three small caravels sail forth from the Spanish seaport town of Palos. Darkness hovers over the deep, even as it hovers over the minds and souls of the temporal and spiritual rulers of the land of Spain. Back toward the land, which they never expect to see again, look with tearful countenance nearly all of the fourscore and ten sailors who have ventured forth upon the perilous journey. With eyes westward turned, and at a distance from the others, stands a small group of men. The tall, majestic form of the foremost of them is the admiral of the little fleet. His inspired countenance reveals neither tear nor fear. He who had conquered the opposition of sovereigns

and had confounded the sophistry of scholars, who eighteen years long had patiently endured taunt and rebuff, desertion of friends, and treachery of supporters, is now in the very ecstasy of joy. And in the fullness of hope is that little band of Jews, near him. One of them is the overseer of the crew; another is the interpreter; another is the physician. One of them is the first to descry the almost despaired of Western shore. Another is the first to set foot upon it.

And the Jews at home, whose patronage and learning had made possible that most daring voyage, were the first to receive the account of the epochal discovery that had been made. Neither Ferdinand and Isabella, nor the grandees of state or church in all the land of Spain had as much at stake in the success of that journey as had the Jews. Toward its accomplishment they had liberally given of their learning and had amply spent of their means. They had helped to prove the rotundity of the earth and had drawn the charts of the sea. They had made dependable the astrolabe and the compass. They had equipped two of the three caravels.

Whither were they to turn if this last and only hope were to fail? On the last day of April the edict had been issued expelling three hundred thousand Jews from their homes and native land. Thrust out of Spain by the most powerful and most catholic sovereigns of Europe, what Christian country would care to receive them, what Christian potentate would dare to tolerate them? The terms of grace expired on the second day of August—one of the saddest days the sun ever shone upon. At the dawn of the follow-

ing morn, the little fleet sailed forth, destined to find for the homeless wanderer a haven of rest more blessed than any he had enjoyed since the days he had sat under his own vine and fig tree in the land of Palestine.

Doubt it, ye of little faith! As for me, I see as clearly the hand of compelling fate in Isabella's signing the order for Columbus's voyage of discovery on the very day she signed the expulsion edict of the Jew, as I see the hand of Providence manifest in the afflictions that, in our days, have come upon the house of the Romanoffs and upon the Russians for the afflictions they have brought upon the house of Israel.

The new world was taken possession of in the name of the sovereigns of Spain. With the exception of Jewish refugees and *maranos*, who came in search of home and liberty, the first settlers were largely adventurers, who came in search of gold. With them came men of the church, equally lusting for gold and equally thirsting for blood, the two chief curses of the church of the middle ages. Soon the inquisition with all its horrors made its appearance in South America, where the first settlements had taken place, and it was not long before even in the new world the Jew had to taste of Spanish and Portuguese cruelty, for the sin of having inaugurated and developed many of the most important industries of the colonies, and for having reaped the just reward of his intelligent and thrifty toil. A century long these persecutions endured with greater or lesser severity, until it almost seemed as if the curse of the old world would ultimately whelm the Jews in the new.

But Providence had already passed sentence upon Spanish rule in the new world. Naught was to be the harvest of all the bloodshed and cruelty with which she had sown and polluted the Western Hemisphere. Every blessing was to turn into blight, every strength into weakness, every gain into loss. She, the proudest mistress of Europe, was to become the humblest of all; she, the mistress of a whole continent, was not to retain an inch of all its soil.

And in the northern part of this same new world there was about to loom into sight a new era in the history of man, the brightest the world had yet witnessed; there was about to dawn a new conception of right and liberty, the best the world had yet enjoyed.

In 1614 the Dutch landed at New York, or New Amsterdam, as it was then called. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Hither came the latter, braving in a frail vessel the dangers of a wild and untried ocean, for the privilege of worshiping God in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience. And hither came the former from the Netherlands, pledged to liberty of conscience, remembering the sufferings they and their fathers had endured under Spanish subjugation. The Jews knew of the hospitable treatment which had been accorded their brethren in Holland, after it had thrown off the Spanish yoke, and so, leaving the inhospitable lands of the southern continent, they sailed northward, and arrived in the year 1655 in New Amsterdam.

Oh, that we might hold forever sacred, alongside the *Mayflower*, the name of the little ship *St. Catarina* that landed the first Jewish colony in the harbor of

New York! Oh, that we might hold forever sacred, alongside the dates 1620 and 1614, the date 1655, the year in which one of the proudest and happiest chapters in the long and tragic history of Israel was opened! Oh, that we Jews might assemble annually, as do the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers and of the Knickerbockers, to do honor to our brave sires, who, in the year 1655, only thirty years after the landing of the one, and forty-one years after the settling of the other, helped to lay the foundation of the greatest nation on the face of the earth. Eliminate these three dates and there are few other dates in our history worth remembering. Without these dates, that proudest date of ours, 1776, would never have been written large on the pages of our history. Within the cabins of the *Mayflower* and the *St. Catarina* were those principles conceived that gave birth to the battle cry of 1776. From the Pilgrim Fathers fleeing their English persecutors, from the Dutch, fresh from having overthrown the tyranny of bigoted Spain, from the Jew fleeing the cruelty of the South American Spaniard and Portuguese, have sprung these free and independent, these liberty-loving and liberty-bestowing United States. Their yearning for religious and political liberty dictated our Declaration of Independence, drafted our Constitution, severed the church from the state, cast into our liberty bell the words of our Bible: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Significant as is the part the Jew has had in the founding of the nation, yet more significant is the aid

he rendered in its development. The handful of Jews of the year 1655 has grown to over one million in 1905, and of all the immigrants of this nation of immigrants, none—to cite the words of our late secretary of state, the lamented John Hay—none has proven himself more worthy of American citizenship than he. Scarcely had he settled at New Amsterdam, when he voluntarily asked to be permitted to render military service alongside the other burghers. From the first he recognized that the sharing of communal privileges involved the necessity of sharing communal duties. Well may our heart swell with pride as we follow the record of the Jew in the War of Independence. Look over the roll of honor containing the names of those who signed the *Non-Importation Agreement*, and count the score of Jewish names. Read the names of those who shed their heart's blood on the battlefields fighting for their country's liberty, and you read the names of scores of Jews. Read the names of those who poured forth their treasures and their all to enable the colonies to carry on their war for independence, and among the most generous and most self-sacrificing, stand the names of scores of Jewish patriots. Read the name of the lieutenant of Benedict Arnold, and note that while the general is found guilty of foul treason, the lieutenant is intrusted with special dispatches to Franklin at the court of France—and that lieutenant is a Jew. Read the names of the patriots who made possible the rearing of the proud monument of Bunker Hill, and you find one of the two givers of princely sums a Jew.

And reading the story of the Jew's patriotism in

the War of Independence, you read at the same time his story in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican and Civil and Cuban Wars, in everyone of which he performed deeds of valor and patriotism that established, beyond cavil and question, that of all citizens, none can better love and better cherish than the Jew these United States, the first country, since the days of Palestine, that he was permitted to call his own.

But successful wars against tyranny and slavery are not the only sources of a people's greatness. Many a nation has found its grave in its excess of victories; many a hero his fall in not knowing the victories of peace. It is in the use that a country makes of its periods of peace, it is in its fitness to develop its resources when the battle flag is furled, wherein lies the secret of its life and vigor, the elixir of its healthy growth.

And in this the United States has no peer in the family of nations. And toward that preëminence no people has contributed more than the Jew. Whether studied in the industries or in commerce, in the arts or sciences, in public office or in private life, the Jew has written a marvelous story of achievement, has reared a monument to his intellect and enterprise and integrity upon which other nations, more especially Russia, may well look, and on which they may well reflect.

And of this monument the United States itself is as proud as it is of the loftiest granite shaft that kisses the blue empyrean, as proud as was Washington, when, in answer to the address of welcome, presented by the Jews of Newport, he said: "The citi-

zens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation."

And Washington's hope will yet be realized. Profiting by the blessed experience of the United States and listening to its stirring entreaties, other nations will yet be moved to adopt the liberal policy it adopted from the first, and from which it has not departed to this day.

And once other nations shall treat the Jew as he is treated here, once other nations shall relieve the American Jew of the terrible burden he has been forced to bear in caring and providing for the hundreds of thousands of brethren fleeing to these shores, once the Jews of other countries shall be permitted to live in peace and in the enjoyment of their inalienable rights,—the genius of the American Jew will burst forth in a splendor that will surpass all that it has hitherto achieved. All his intellect and skill of four thousand years of cultivation in the hard school of trial and tribulation, all his hopes and all his ambitions, he will lay at the feet of the United States as a thanks-offering for its having respected his manhood when all other nations spurned him, for its having honored his citizenship rights when all other nations cast him out, for its having afforded him the opportunity to show that, in loyalty to his flag, in patriotism to his country, in devotion to his fellow-citizens, the Jew is inferior to none, is the peer of all.

ROOM FOR ALL

Address by Rev. Dr. K. Kohler

The weekly portion of this Sabbath afternoon tells a story of patriarchal times which contains both the history of the world and the history of the Jew, as it were, in a nutshell: Isaac had grown rich in herds and flocks, and the Philistines envied him and stopped all the wells the servants of his father had digged, and Abimalek said to Isaac: "Go from us, for thou art too mighty for us." Isaac departed, and behold, when his servants digged a new well, the herdsmen strove with them saying "this water is ours," and they called the well the "Water of Strife." And they digged another well, and the men contended for that also, and they called it the "Water of Contention." And he moved still farther away, and they strove no longer, and they called the well "Rehoboth" (Room), for they said: "The Lord has made room for us, and we shall prosper in the land."

Is this not the history of man through the centuries? A continuous record of strife and contention! The earth seems too small for the nations and empires as they wage war against one another, to enrich themselves each at the expense of the others, and drive away the owners of the land they have so long inhabited. Nor do the religious sects act any better toward one another. As soon as they attain power they claim the monopoly of truth and salvation for themselves, while denying the very right of existence to others; "Ours is the spring of living waters," they say. And so there is but oppression here and perse-

cution there, but nowhere toleration and peace. This was the aspect of the world when a new hemisphere was discovered, and a new principle entered the life of man. No longer should the oppressor's rod hold nations and classes in subjection, nor religious fanaticism shackle the mind and turn the earth into hell, because men dared seek heaven along other roads than the church had laid out. "Rehoboth" was the tidings of the New World. Room, opportunity, and liberty for each struggling race and class and sect! Room and scope for all honest toil, opinion, and aspiration! Freedom of conscience, freedom of worship! Room and freedom for the oppressed and persecuted of all lands and tongues! This was the watchword which created a new type of manhood and womanhood, a people self-reliant and self-respecting, at once rising to larger views of life and quick in advancing with rapid strides to the fore of humanity in enterprise and skill, in education and knowledge. Yes, America has become the land of broad humanity, the hope of the downtrodden, the shelter of the persecuted, and its broadening, liberating, and humanizing influence is felt throughout the world. Yet who has greater cause for thanksgiving to-day than the Jew, the Pariah of the nations, the Cinderella among the religions, the scapegoat of the raving mobs, the target of hatred and contumely of the lands and ages, the man of sorrow singled out like the sheep for slaughter? Here at last he has found room and opportunity, his Rehoboth, rest and ease. Here his bent-down figure, weighed down with the burden of shame and wretchedness, a picture of misery of the Ghetto, may again rise

to the full stature of manhood, and in proud self-consciousness vie with his fellow-citizens in noble achievements in all the branches of industry and commerce, in patriotic and philanthropic zeal, in social and political success, to be recognized as the peer and equal of all. More than that, under the inspiration of liberty he has grown as broad-minded and large-hearted as the Jew in the brightest days of Spain ever was. Indeed, *noblesse oblige* has become his maxim. He has become like Joseph the prince among his brethren, the chosen instrument in the hands of Providence to bring aid and salvation to a multitude of people. To him the Jews of the world look for success and encouragement. His loyalty and liberty have rendered him the leader and helper of his brethren abroad.

While our hearts are heavy with grief over the tragic fate of our brethren in the land of Russian tyranny, and our festive joy has been turned into mourning by the massacres perpetrated by a brutalized mob, a thousand times more cruel than the cannibals of South Africa, we may yet find some consolation in the proud satisfaction that the American Jews have proved equal to the great emergency and in less than two weeks collected the sum of a million dollars for the relief of their unfortunate brethren.

Still this is but a token of what the American Jew is destined to accomplish in the future, of what American Judaism is bound to become for the world at large, if we but rise to the full recognition of our great mission. Let us not forget that as long as there is strife and contention in the world, the Jew will have to undergo martyrdom for the cause of truth, for the

cause of righteousness and humanity. At present we have been privileged to offer material relief to our suffering co-religionists. But greater sacrifices are demanded from us, because our opportunities are becoming greater. Greater will be our obligations because our responsibilities will grow, as we advance in power, in numerical and in intellectual strength. We shall most assuredly do our utmost in releasing our brethren from the misery and scourge under which they are bleeding and dying to-day, and endeavor to help as many as possible to find places that offer safety and peace to their endangered lives and homes. But all this will not check the tide of evil altogether, nor remove the scourge of all the hatred and prejudice under which the Jew has been suffering all through the centuries. As long as malicious, slanderous presentations of the Jewish people, as if they were a set of murderers, hungry after innocent blood, remain unchallenged, and their poison is instilled by the Church into the stupid, unthinking masses, to fan their bloodthirsty fanaticism against the Jew, so long will contention and strife lead to persecution and expulsion, to Jew-baiting, and the inhumanity committed throughout the centuries in the name of religion. We need a system of self-defense extending all over the globe, yet not by resorting to firearms and parrying swords with swords, but with the weapons of truth against those of falsehood. Our cause is bound to triumph in the end, for ours is the faith in humanity and humanity's God. Over against all the intolerance and hostility fostered by other creeds, our religious teaching is "Rehoboth"—salvation and

truth for all. Instead of suffering mission societies to work for the Christianization of the Jew, let us form leagues for the purpose of humanizing Christendom. And we need but appeal to the intelligence of the enlightened ones, whose number is growing continuously, and we shall have the support and recognition of the best. Here in the land of Roger Williams and Jefferson, the land whose foundation is righteousness and justice, among a people whose religion is above all broad and humane, Judaism is given the opportunity to work out its great mission, and, with the full consciousness of its prophetic calling, to build up a system of thought and life large enough and profound enough to blend all that is good and true and beautiful in our own culture with the sublimities of our ancient faith, so as to render it a well of Rehoboth—an all-encompassing world-conquering truth for all the nations, to join us, the martyr-priests and heralds of God, the Father of all.

So may, out of the great ordeal through which our Eastern brethren are passing, a new Judaism emerge, full of hope and promise, both for the Jew and for humanity at large. And who knows but that the finger of Providence is again, as in the day when the Jews left Spain, pointing to America as the Rehoboth, the land which has room and opportunity and prosperity for all, yet not in a material state only, but for the realization of the highest ideals of humanity, the building up of an empire of righteousness and love and peace in which Israel, the prophet people of yore, will have its full share as the seed of those blessed by God, rooted in a land replete with blessing for all mankind.

THE JEW AS A LIBERAL FORCE

From an address by Rev. Dr. D. Philipson

This is a unique occasion. That Jewish congregations should hold special services in commemoration of the landing of the first Jews upon the blessed shores of our beloved country is but natural and in the order of things, but that a non-Jewish church organization should devote one of its regular services to celebrating this two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, which looms large at this time upon the American Jewish horizon, is so unusual an occurrence even in these better days of religious breadth of view in which we are living, that it is of more than passing interest and will surely be pointed to by some future historian as an evidence of that fine spirit of human fellowship that rises above the narrow distinctions of creed and sect. As far as I know, or have heard, this is the only service of this kind in connection with our anniversary;* without doubt there are other churches in this land whose pastors and worshipers stand on a platform broad enough to make a service of this kind possible, but it

* *The editors of this volume take pleasure in recording the fact that this service was not the only one of its kind. In Ithaca, N. Y., for example, the services in the Unitarian Church on Sunday, November 26, 1905, were of a commemoratory character, the lecture being devoted to an account of the Jew in America and the "order of service" issued by our Executive Committee being utilized in part. In several instances besides this, the ministers of various Christian churches chose as the subject of their discourses on the Sunday before or after Thanksgiving Day, the relations of the Jew to his Christian fellowmen; one of these discourses, delivered by Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage on "The Jew in Christendom" was thereafter issued in pamphlet form.*

will remain to the unique merit of this congregation with its wide outlook, and of its minister whose cosmopolitan humanity and humane cosmopolitanism are so well known in this community that they, of all the non-Jewish organizations in the country, had the happy inspiration of furnishing this tangible proof of the breadth of fellowship they profess. I welcome this gathering as an auspicious augury of the possibilities of the American spirit and consider it a privilege to participate in this service and to speak from this platform on the significance of the event now being commemorated in the light of Jewish achievement in the United States.

. . . . .

What this home of freedom has signified and signifies for the Jew is patent; here he has found a haven of refuge; here he has had the opportunity to develop his God-given powers without let or hindrance; here he has been permitted to worship his God as his conscience dictates, without fear of the persecutor's wrath or the oppressor's cruelty; here he has learned to be once again a man among men, after he had been condemned to be a Pariah and an outcast for centuries in European lands; here, for the first time since the Roman arms conquered his ancient Palestinian domicile, did he find a land which he could call home; yes, home, for this two hundred and fiftieth anniversary brings out in bold relief the fact that the Jew came hither less than fifty years after the English landed at Jamestown, and only thirty-five years after the *Mayflower* bearing the Pilgrim Fathers glided into Plymouth harbor; here the Jew has been en-

abled to demonstrate that he is at one with his neighbors in all things which make for the realization of American ideals; he has fought in every struggle, bled on every battle field, responded to every call of patriotism in peace and in war, has been intensely loyal in speech and in act—in a word he is an American of the Americans, a lover of his city, State, and country with every fiber of his being; he has shown the world that, nationally, he is devoted with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength to the country of his birth or adoption, and that only in his religious belief is he different from his fellow-citizens of other faiths.

All these things this latter-day promised land in which we are living has made possible for the Jew, but, on the other hand, one may claim, I believe, without laying himself open to the charge of chauvinism, that the Jew has repaid all this largess by a peculiar service to the high cause of liberty and liberality of thought that this country symbolizes. Very few, even of the limited number who study the story of Jewish endurance throughout the mediæval ages of oppression, appreciate the service of the children of Israel to the truth in its largest conception. They were a small minority dwelling in the midst of powerful majorities; they had inherited a certain truth which they held sacred; for that truth they were content to live and to die, to suffer and to endure; by this course they bore testimony to the power of the spirit which can rise superior to all earthly woe and misery; as to all minorities who are willing to forego every worldly advantage in their devotion to the truth they hold

dear, so to the Jews confined in the Ghettos of Europe do all truth-lovers and truth-seekers owe an incalculable debt of gratitude; and in the final accounting this aspect of the significance of Jewish persistence and constancy in the face of nameless woes and countless ills will receive its due and its place.

Continuing this line of thought permit me to call attention to a somewhat similar service which the Jews in the United States have performed. This lies not so much on the surface, so that he who runs may read; still a little consideration will demonstrate clearly that the Jew has been one of the chief forces making for the preservation of the high aims and truths of the spirit of liberalism in this land. When this Government was founded, one of the leading purposes of the fathers of the republic was the separation of church and state. All religions were to have an equal standing within the body politic. No religious sect was to be recognized in the councils of the Government. The people of this country are possibly in the enjoyment of no greater boon than this, owing to the wise foresight and broad statesmanship of the men who stood sponsors at the birth of this Government. Those men were students of history, and the history of nations had shown them that the union of church and state had been the fruitful cause of more persecution, more bloodshed, more wars, more misery during the so-called Christian centuries, than any other single thing; therefore, they determined to keep the two absolutely separate in the new experiment of government which they were inaugurating. During the century and a quarter of the existence of this

Government, attempts have been made time and again, and are still being constantly made by narrow-minded religious sectarians, to undo this blessed work; Congress has been stormed with petitions to amend the Constitution so as to have this land declared a Christian country; State legislatures have been, and are being, constantly importuned for similar purposes; Protestant sects have worked with might and main to Protestantize the public schools; all these efforts are portentous of grave dangers, and against them those who understand the true meaning of liberty must array themselves without ceasing. Among these liberal and liberalizing elements none has stood forth more unequivocally and more constantly than the Jews, true to their tradition of being a protesting minority. From the bitter experience of their fathers they know the frightful results of the unholy alliance between church and state in each and every form, and they would contribute their share toward saving this people, of which they form an integral portion, from the evils that stalk in the wake of that alliance. What the Jews and others, with convictions similar to theirs on this subject, have done in this struggle with the reactionaries has contributed toward strengthening the foundations whereon this Government rests and toward the deepening of the influence of the principles of true freedom. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty; none appreciates this more than we Jews, and we believe that we can show our appreciation of all that this land of the free stands for, and all that it has meant and means for us and ours no more fully, than by doing what in our power lies toward

protesting against every narrowing tendency in the life of this people and this Government, and in striving in season and out of season for the broadest, most liberal, and most liberalizing policy, so that indeed "our America shall be the Sinai of the nations whence shall proceed the divine law of liberty that shall subdue and harmonize the world."

THE PLEDGE OF THE AMERICAN JEW

Address by JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK

"That they should provide for and take care of their poor, and that they should not be a burden upon the community," was the agreement of the first Jewish settlers who came to this country a quarter of a millennium ago.

How well and faithfully have they and their descendants throughout this country of ours fulfilled the condition then imposed! They have cared for their own poor, and though unconscious for many years that this was part of the bargain under which they were permitted to settle in America, they have claimed it, not only as a duty, but also as a privilege, to care for their own poor. This duty, prescribed two hundred and fifty years ago, has become inbred in the Jews of America; and for this reason, and this reason only, do we have our separate Jewish charities. Those of us that are the most liberal, that believe in the fullest sense that charity should be nonsectarian, still claim that that which was imposed upon us at that time shall now be our right, as it has been for two hundred and fifty years past, as it shall be for two hundred and fifty years to come.

Not that the privilege or duty of caring for our own has ever marked the limits of Jewish charity. Jewish charity is synonymous with charity itself. It knows no bounds of country or of creed; and in all the tasks of our fellow-countrymen, public or private, charitable or otherwise, the Jew ever has been and

ever will be an active participant. But that we should ever remember the condition under which we were permitted at that time to find a home in this America is self-evident, and that every Jew should feel it his duty to support to the utmost of his ability those charities that are intended to carry out this condition, ought to be to him the very first of his obligations. We have endeavored faithfully to live up to our responsibilities in this respect. We have not always reached the goal that we were aiming at. If there be among us any who to-day in this time of rejoicing, in this land where we have come to our own, in searching their consciences feel that they have not contributed in full measure to the meeting of that condition to which we have ever been pledged, let them resolve now that the delinquencies of the past will be made up in the future, that the charities of the Jewish community of Chicago will ever be supported by them in the full measure of duty-bound generosity to which they are entitled.

We Jews, however, have conceived this duty in a broader sense. Children of the Book, upon whom the mission of liberty of religion has been devolved, we in this country have conceived as one of the best exhibitions of our loyalty to our religious obligations, the development of our charitable endeavors. Not merely must we support our own charities, but we must make them the best and the noblest in the land, that they may continue to be, as they have been, an inspiration to our fellow-citizens, a model for their communal efforts.

We Jews, however, have never stopped short at the

support of our own. We have recognized our duty as citizens of our municipality, as citizens of the United States, to assist in every upward movement in the country, charitable or otherwise. The Jew has ever been in the advance in every movement tending to raise public life to higher levels and to better private life; no reform but has had his active assistance. He has never been a seeker for public office; he has never been a Democrat or a Republican for the profit that would accrue to him. He has been a party man because of his belief in the principles of his party; and he has been a party man as an American, not as a Jew. The Hebrew Democrat and the Hebrew Republican is false to the principles of Judaism, is false to himself, when he mingles his religion with his politics. The Jew who votes for a Jew because he is a Jew, is derelict to all that he ought to hold highest. If he votes for a Jew because he knows the man and believes him to be the better man of the two, well and good; but let no one ask the Jew for his support merely on the ground that he is a Jew. And let us proclaim in this country to all the politicians that there is no Jewish vote, that we are Jews in our religion, that we are Jews in caring for our own, but that in all else we are American citizens—American citizens by our own birthright, paid for by the pledge that we made two hundred and fifty years ago—aye, even before that time; for it was a Jew that gave to Columbus the means to come to this country; and there were five Jews—a number entirely out of proportion to the Jewish population of Spain—that accompanied him on his voyages of discovery. The settlement in New

York two hundred and fifty years ago makes the Jew the equal of the Pilgrim, the Puritans of Massachusetts, and the Cavaliers of Maryland and Virginia, in claiming this country as their own.

Grateful are we that a haven of rest was found in these United States for the Jew. Grateful is the Puritan, himself persecuted as we were, that a similar haven was found for him here; and grateful is the Catholic that he too was permitted to settle on these shores when he was driven by fanaticism from countries of Europe. Grateful are we all to the Almighty that guided our steps hither; grateful are we to our fellow-countrymen that none of the excesses of Europe has ever stained this land. But beyond that, we stand firm and upright, not cringing nor fawning, and not pleading for our liberty, but demanding it as our birthright, insisting on equality before the law and before men as the inalienable prerogative of American citizenship. We Jews, settled here for two hundred and fifty years, need not bow our heads in thanks to, need not crawl before any man in America. We stand here the equal of all of them, with as much right, purchased in the same way by the blood of our ancestors in every war through which this country passed, as does the descendant of the Puritan and the Cavalier. The Jews of America are true American citizens in the full sense. Every call of their country have they answered with their treasure and their blood, and every call the country may hereafter make will they answer in exactly the same measure, to say little, as their fellow-citizens.

There is one problem confronting the people of this

country to-day in which we as Jews have a peculiar interest. It is the problem of immigration. We do not know what the future holds out for the Jew in Russia. Those of us who are optimistic think that the terrible calamities of the past few months are not indicative of the future course of that country. We are hopeful that when the Russian people truly come to their own, after the bloodshed necessarily incident to their revolution, that the Jew too will come to his own as a Russian citizen; and if we are right in this prognosis, the immigration of the Russian Jew to America will cease. But if perchance we are wrong, and if the terrible brutalities of the past months shall be continued in the future, we must expect an immigration infinitely larger than that of 1881 or 1891. We Jews of America settled here for two hundred and fifty years, must be ready to welcome the oppressed of Russia. We must unitedly rise up in this country and say to our fellow-citizens that the doors of the United States, which have been opened for centuries to the oppressed of all lands, shall not now be closed to the poor Jews coming here, not temporarily, or as a burden upon the community at large, for we ourselves shall bear this burden—coming here to found a home, as you and your ancestors came perhaps two hundred and fifty years ago, perhaps but twenty-five years ago. The doors of the United States shall never be closed to any decent, honest man coming here to settle, to find and to found a home in our country, wanting to become an American citizen.

The danger is great that all sorts of qualifications will be suggested which will keep out the brothers of

the Russian Jew, though in twenty-five years from now he will be among the leading citizens of this country, as now his children are among the children in our schools—who soon will be among the first in commerce and in every field of public activity. The danger, I repeat, is great that all sorts of qualifications will be enacted as a prerequisite to the admission of future immigrants. It is our duty, we, immigrants ourselves, either in our own persons, or in those of our sires, one, two or three generations back—aye, perhaps immigrants two hundred and fifty years ago in our ancestors—to claim for the oppressed of all lands the right under which we ourselves were permitted to come here and become American citizens. Those privileges should never be denied to any man because of his religion, or for any other reason, as long as our country is able to sustain the millions of new comers, provided the immigrant comes not as a temporary guest but to make his home, and that of his family in this land, to raise his children to be, and to become himself, honest, law-abiding, American citizens.

THE CONCORDANCE OF JUDAISM AND AMERICANISM

Address by Rev. Dr. E. G. Hirsch

Where the Canadian Pacific, that mighty miracle of modern man's daring and doing, winds its ever narrowing embrace of steel arms around the giant frame and then the snow-hooded brow of the mountain sentries mounting the guard over the Rockies' midcontinental bastion, the wondering traveler wheeled along this imperial highway's upward coil in dramatic suddenness is brought face to face with one of the most striking exhibitions of Nature's curious capriciousness. However much he may have been impressed with the defiant boldness that reckoned not the menace of the roaring canyons over which bridge and span are thrown in proud unconcern, or with the stupendous assumption of security that holds in contempt the perils of precipices along which the roadbed skirts with tenacious grit; when at the great divide he notices how the chance interval of a hair's-breadth between the peak's wrinkles determines the direction of the water rills and the leaping cascades, he is stirred to reflection as by no other observation. Twin children of the clouds, cradled in one nursery, the raindrops are here bidden separate. One rushes on to his destiny, meeting in his descent the morning's sun, the other hastens to his goal in the van of the evening's approach. Spun on the same loom, one silvery ribbon unwinds its broadening folds until they are tangled in the Atlantic's mightier nettings; the

other unbobbins its stretching lengths to festoon the slopes inclining toward the Pacific. Though he know the law which compels one of heaven's tears to seek its grave in the birth chamber of the day-star, and the other to hasten to its funeral in advance of the sinking sun, at the impressive recognition of the phenomenon in the concrete, the observant witness is involuntarily oppressed by the consciousness that similar "accidents" determine the direction of men's gropings, and enforce divergency of paths leading to different and widely separated destinies.

But this depressing obsession soon yields to the inspiring certainty that only in the seeming, whim and chance preside over the allotting of our fortune. Closer attention to the intention which underlies Nature's dividing decree soon will reveal that underneath the superficial divergence is operative concordance of duty. Both waterdrops that at the line must part from each other, are commissioned to one and the same task. It is theirs to coax forth flowers, to fertilize field and forest. Both are messengers and ministers of life. And again when they shall have reached their respective goals, be it the sea which laps the Eastern shores or that which sings the lullaby to the Western States, the miracle of the resurrection which awaits them will wing both alike to new upward flight and on the heights their divided destinies will finally converge. Seemingly doomed to eternal separation, snowflakes and dewdrops that part company at the divide are foreordained to identity of obligation.

Thus, when closer analysis unfolds this ethical purpose, which, cloaked or clear, is always fundamental

in the Universe and which is never dissipated even when the factoring process seems to reduce the all to incoherent fragments, caprice of division is at once lifted to the potency of planned appointment. Accident under this view takes on the consecration of vocation. Differences are blotted out in the recognition that they are means to an end, and in the prevision of this end, divergence of paths sinks out of sight, while identity of responsibility, which neutralizes all variance of direction, looms up large. Name the watersheds which force division and divergence upon men what you will, race, religion, nationality, at the great divide the space which separates is infinitesimal. These channels through which humanity runs on to its goal are means to a common end. On all them that along these divergent paths apparently tend apart in contrary directions, one common burden is imposed. Theirs is the equality of function under the variety and difference of equipment. Like the river systems draining into different oceans, the various and differently endowed components of humanity are appointed to fill earth with life, ever enriching and deepening and broadening. This conception reconciles diversity with unity. It sees in the polychrome spectrum only unfolding white light.

Little dower of imagination, I hold, is competent to apply the pathos and poetry of the watershed's influence upon the direction of the raindrop's ambition, to the symphonic theme of this memorial day's chorus. At first hearing, its jubilant notes seem to carry the invitation to remember differences. It is the landing of Jews that it commemorates. It seems to emphasize

those distinctions that set off the Jew from his neighbor. Or, again, if stress be laid on the country's name whose hospitality these earliest immigrants of Jewish origin claimed, the intention of our synagogal celebration may be misunderstood, as planned to throw on the screen the peculiarities of American Israel, enlarged out of all proportion, and thus invigorate the American Jew's insistence upon being accorded a distinct position of his own in the common household of Israel.

But give this day's jubilee overture a second hearing! If it be true—and it is—that man is microcosmic reproduction of the Universe's macrocosmos, then it is equally beyond all doubt that in the plan of God, nations and peoples are called to be microcosmic illustrations of the plan of the macrocosmic humanity. To the American nation was assigned task and opportunity to exemplify essential unity, notwithstanding the influence of the various watersheds at which the lines of descent diverge. Almost all the races of the planet have made this land their trysting ground. Hither they have brought the best and strongest which it was theirs to develop. Religion in this country, reenacts the Pentacostal outpouring; the flaming tongues that token of the spirit, speak their message in varied tones and widely differing dialects. Social customs, the ripples from many distant sources, give color and mobility to home and exclusive circles. Even in press and on the platform, in our streets and villages, the confusion of languages is documented. This exceeding abundance of variety constitutes one of the secrets of this nation's nervous vitality. Apparent

discordance results under the consecration of patriotism in effective harmony. True, this morning's festal reveille stirs to glad reflection only a little more than one of the eighty millions of God's children that call America mother or spouse. Yet, it is not in conflict with, nay, it is in confirmation of America's distinctive genius that the commemorative occasion addresses its call to one alone of its many components and contributors. *E pluribus unum* formulates a truth, radiantly visible in the vision of this day. By rejoicing as Jews we are accentuating our Americanism.

And in similar manner the pride of our Americanism which possesses our heart and is yearning for expression to-day, is not a protest against, it is a proclamation of our fidelity to our Judaism. Like America, Judaism has been appointed to pattern the richer diversities of polychrome human life. Its aspects are many; its vocalizations numerous. Catholic Israel wears neither the uniform of military barracks nor the livery of the penitentiary. Its is Joseph's coat of many colors. This continent has augmented the prophecies and proclamations of Judaism by another variation. This new articulation again is not rigid. It is vital and therefore flexible. In this, its elasticity and vitality, American Judaism only conforms to the historic plasticity of Pan-Judaism and carries it out to fuller productivity. It looks like an accident that we were directed at the watershed Americanward, while millions of brothers were sent into Russia. To our lot fell American citizenship, to theirs slave service in the house of bondage more oppressive than ever was Mizraim. But that "accident" signi-

fies duty. In emphasizing now our Americanism, we vow to be true all the more devotedly to the obligation that our Judaism imposes.

In fact, he is ignorant of the implications of Americanism and Judaism both, who would hold that between them towers a mountain range decreeing and enforcing their divergent separation. The contrast, not to say conflict, between them, I know, is commonly summarized in the statement that America names the civilization of hopeful prospect, Judaism that of regretful retrospect. The latter is a tearful memory, the former a joyful anticipation. Tradition is Judaism's store; outlook, America's strength. No more arrogant misconception was ever coined than this artfully pointed antithesis. Judaism is, if anything, the *one* religion of impatient prospect and ecstatic prevision of the unborn to-morrow. America has its traditions as clearly determinative as are the influences of the past that anchor Judaism to its historic moorings. The traditions of America reach back further than the discovery of the continent. Our jurisprudence is grounded on the old common law of England. And in these precolonial traditions, which have been among the most prolific stimuli of American thought, conduct, and character, Judaism has had a dominant part. In the *Mayflower*, *our* Bible crossed the Atlantic. At Plymouth Rock in sober reality the Pentateuch was recognized as one of the inspirations of the young commonwealth. The Puritans were, indeed, more Hebraic than were the Jews who landed thirty-six years later. Narrow were they, but their narrowness was ransomed by their strength. Serious

were they, but their seriousness dowered them with the fortitude without which none may hope to yoke untamed nature to his purposes. Puritan Hebrewism alone enabled the Pilgrims to exercise dominion over the wilds of their new home. This Puritan spirit was nursed at the breast of Jewish literature. It was the gift laid by old Judaism into the cradle of this new civilization. It had share in preparing the advent of the era of independence, as in the thinking of the men that later phrased our political documents undoubtedly Old Testament principles had had determinating influence.

One who can pierce through verbal husk to inner kernel can harbor no doubt on the essential concordance of Americanism and Judaism. The stronger the Jew in us, the more loyal the American in us will grow to be. What is the fundamental announcement of Judaism? You say the "unity of God." This may and may not name the characteristic element. What if the One God were conceived of as a forbidding despot? There have been those among our enemies to misconstrue in this wise the meaning of our monotheism. They have said that the Jew, in declaring his God to be One, proclaims the rulership of an autocrat whose caprice alone tempered by bribes is the final arbiter of the world's and the human race's fate. This monotheism, they proceed to explain, is therefore differentiated from polytheism only in its numerical notation. I adduce this misrepresentation for the purpose of demonstrating the advisability of qualifying our definition. Ethical is the attribute usually introduced to distinguish the monotheism of

Judaism. But what does the phrase signify? A German thinker of fame tells us that all religion is anthropology. In the doctrine concerning man, flowers into view the true content of our consciousness of God's all-pervading, all-sustaining presence. One God is the highest expression of our conviction that as every man is created in the image of God, every man by his birthright is the equal of every other man. Every man as partaking of divinity has a value which is independent of all the accidents due to the action of the watersheds. Man having a value inherent in his humanity, has personality, and therefore has no price. Things may be purchased, persons cannot. The value of man is inexpressible in terms of the market. Men are not like the products of mine or mill equivalented in coin. Low or lofty, every man incarnates something inalienable which is not affected by circumstance. In this something roots his free sovereignty.

Is not America's political creed the practical execution and activization of these fundamental conceptions of Judaism? Judaism's philosophy spreads the basis whereon rests the political practice of America. No other justification is there for the assumption that men are born free and equal than the conception of man as the incarnation of the divine, his personality constituting his unpurchasable worth and being the exponent of the One in whose image all alike are created.

This inalienable freedom of man is the freedom to live out the law of his being. Law and freedom are not contraries; they are complementaries. Judaism,

the religion of freedom, was of necessity also that of the Law. To whatever degree the Talmudic system through micrology may have mechanicalized the Law, none who understands the character of Judaism but must insist that liberty to activize the freedom which it posits as inherent in man's participation in divinity, postulates submission to the high law of moral majesty and final supremacy. The law of the moral order is imperfectly expressed in the self-given law of state and society. Law is liberty potentialized, liberty is law actualized. The American's passion for liberty vouchsafed by law and for law grounded in liberty, is foreshadowed and sanctified in the teachings of Judaism.

But the congruence of Judaism and Americanism extends further. Judaism postulates coöperation and coördination, as the principle of organized society. In the chapter all the richer in truth because it echoes old mythology, which records the creation of man, the duty and destiny of this last of God's creative acts is defined as rulership over all the preceding works of God. "They," in the plural shall have dominion, is the phraseology of the account. In other words, *one* man is incompetent to fulfill this appointment. *No* man may be spared in the realization of this aim. Through coöperation and coördination of effort and purpose in ever larger scope, the divinely decreed destiny will be attained. Our political method is coöperative and establishes the coördination of the various organs. Our national Constitution is often described as a noble compromise. It had to be this as exponential of the principles under which

alone freedom and law can be made effective, viz., coöperation and coördination. But not only that written charter, the very life of the nation's plan of self-government is imbued with these principles and informed by them. Home autonomy and national authority are the two poles. America begins with the free individual, leads him for coöperation with other free individuals, his equals along ascending steps, to come to the town meeting, which then expands into the municipality and county, these autonomous corporations growing into the State, and the States finally constituting the Union. Above the Union the unwritten yet wonderfully effective Highest Law, the law not only of this nation but of all nations, the Law which is the outflow of the Moral Order of the Universe, the moral meaning of all humanity's strivings and struggles. If the Jewish Commonwealth was a Theocracy, our Government is also in the true sense of the term theocratic. The implications of the belief in the One God are basic to our democracy.

Often antagonism is predicted of Judaism, as of religion in general, to the buoyant, energetic spirit of America, its assertive self-conscious self-reliant realism. How far this suspicion is justified in the case of other religions, it is not for me to verify. Against Judaism the imputation cannot be maintained. I know that in some synagogues the conceit has been encouraged which would make of Judaism another scheme of salvation, a preparation for and an assurance of immortality. Under this misapprehension, indeed, Judaism would have little sympathy with the realities of this world; nor would it have any but an

indistinct message for this life. But is other-worldliness the dominant in Judaism's proclamation, or the inspiration of its prophecy? Clearly not. Judaism would inform this life, this world. It would, through its spirit, transmute conditions and characters here and now. It was the first to pray "Thy Kingdom come." But this kingdom, this *Olam ha-ba* was not beyond the cloud. Its portals were not those of the grave. That world to be, which is the vision of Israel's hope and faith, is this world of ours reconstituted under the sanctifying, reforming sway of justice, righteousness, and love. With justice triumphant, righteousness socialized, Judaism hails the advent of the Messianic age when conditions on earth will be such that no man is denied opportunity to realize his own divinity. Therefore, the dominion of religion according to our doctrine is coextensive with the range of life. Rail out of the plentitude of your prejudices at Talmudic ritualism. That ritualism is perhaps the caricature but still the expression of the vital truth that nothing in life is indifferent to religion. The most trivial acts are tremendous acts. There is no divide at which the secular parts company from the sacred. Religion must be in all things, or it is in nothing. That misinterpreted phrase "My Kingdom is not of this world," as understood by Catholic Christianity and Calvinistic theology, has no place in the dictionary of Judaism.

Judaism as a religion has concern with commerce and industry. It is characteristic of Judaism's realism that on the "tables of the law," doctrine preludes duty. "Thou shalt not steal" was as solemnly

thundered forth as "I am the Eternal." This construction of Judaism as ideal realism, as passion for righting things of this world, as preparation not for death but for the perfect "world to be," the perfect state and social order of the future, is not new. It is the burden of the prophet's censure and caution; it is the content of Pentateuchal legislative provision. The Rabbis express this conviction when they observe that the Torah was not given to the Angels, and describe the dramatic reception of Moses in the council chamber of God when come to claim for earth the Torah. The angels objected. But at the bidding of the Holy One, the son of Amram proves that angels need not the Law; that its commands apply to men and earth alone. How far have they strayed from genuine Judaism who would have the Jewish pulpit be silent on the injustices of earth, the maladjustment of society, and under the plea that Temple and Synagogue must be sacred to *religion*, would have religion shrink into a contrivance to arouse pleasurable emotions in the worshiper—ecstatic, sensuous foregleams of heaven felicities; into an apothecary's laboratory where patent drugs are concocted for the easing of heartache, or opiates are held in readiness for the dulling of grief and pain at the death of dear ones. Religion consoles and eases, but only when it stimulates to action, when it quickens conscience and directs aright conduct. Remember, great Rabbis exposed the iniquity of negro slavery from their pulpits. Remember that our greatest Reform teacher, David Einhorn, used to say "no politics in religion but by all means religion in politics." Negro slavery has

been wiped out, but alas! other and worse slavery still prevails in this world of ours. Shall they who hear the clanking of the chains forego speaking through their old Jewish prayer-book praises to God thrice daily, for having led His people from bondage of slavery? No, Judaism is for this world! Its genius of hopeful realism has syllabled the spiritual message which a people like that of the United States is in need of. Because its kingdom is not beyond the clouds, but a vision of justice and freedom realized in the tents of man, Judaism strikes the note that sets vibrating the heart of America similarly attuned to energetic realism, similarly tender to the sufferer from injustice, similarly hopeful of the future dawn of universal peace and liberty.

Our reform Judaism has come to understand in fullest measure this concordance of its own genius with that of the institutions and the soul of America. We feel that if anywhere on God's footstool our Messianic vision will be made real, it is in this land where a new humanity seems destined to arise. Not to Jerusalem are our eyes turned, but to God! We cannot honestly declare that we are here in exile. We cannot honestly petition that we be led back to Palestine as our country. We have a country which is ours by the right of our being identified with its destinies, our being devoted to its welfare, our sharing its trials, our rejoicing in its triumphs. Two hundred and fifty years has the Jew sojourned in this country. He is not an alien here. His views of liberty and law, of man's inalienable rights and duties hallowed by the sublimities of his religion, are in creative concordance

with the distinctive principles pillaring American civilization.

Not an alien, the Jewish American has the right to ask that now, when in darkest Europe, humanity is outraged, this, his land, remain hospitable to all that would escape from the hell of persecution and intolerance, and like the Pilgrim Fathers of Puritan faith and the first Jews, the vanguard of the million and two hundred thousand American Jews, would make this land their home. The Jew in America, as we have the good right to say, has been faithful to his pledges. The community at large was not burdened in consequence of its generous and just policy of the open door. Whatever may come now, we shall assume the same responsibility without haggling.

I myself, an immigrant, and you, the children of immigrants, if not immigrants yourselves, must prepare to receive new thousands of immigrants from Russia, which is a hell; from Roumania, which is an inferno. We must ransom the pledge given by those who settled two hundred and fifty years ago, that "none of ours shall be a burden on the community." In this awful calamity all American Jewry must band and stand together. It is a duty we owe to Judaism and to America; one of the many obligations in which our Judaism emphasizes what our Americanism tokens; in which our Americanism proves that it is harmoniously attuned to the most profound and most solemn declarations of our Judaism. The flag shall welcome the new pilgrims, and our faith shall make them know that their tottering steps shall be supported and their trembling hands shall be upheld

after the terrible afflictions laid on them in the land of their birth, the land of despotic brutality, of dehumanized barbarism.

Great is the joy which may possess our heart. Our escutcheon as Americans is without stain. We have had a share in the making of this nation. In the mine and in the mill, at the lathe and at the loom, in counting room and council chamber, the Jew has been at work for two centuries and a half for his America. He has sentried his nation's camp; he has been in the mast's lookout on his nation's ships; he has gone out to battle, and he was among them that fell at the firing line. Officer, private, whatever his rank, when the nation asked for life or limb, he did not hesitate to offer the sacrifice. In institutions of learning the Jew has made his mark. In the walks of enterprise his individuality has been felt as a telling potency in the development of the greater aims of American energy. In the professions he stands high; on the bench he has often had representation by the best among the best; in the pulpits of the land, the Jew has not been in the last and lowest ranks. In Boston, I believe, these days they will commemorate Garrison's services. This offers an opportunity to dwell once more upon facts often overlooked, and therefore all the more worthy of being pointed out, that in that struggle against slavery none was more eager, none was more enthusiastic than the leader of American Reform Judaism. And in evidence how intensely wedded to liberty is Judaism, his voice found strong support in the pulpit of the most orthodox Portuguese synagogue of Philadelphia. Ready to die, if necessary, among those that

spoke against slavery, at risk of life and position, were David Einhorn and Sabato Morais.

We have earned the right to call this our country. The future will place new solemn obligations upon us for the country's sake and as Judaism's consecration; we shall not shirk our duties. Happy we American Jews that have a country. America is ours. We can sing with all others,

> My country, 'tis of thee!
> Sweet land of liberty,
> Of thee I sing;
> Land where *my* fathers died,
> Land of *our* Pilgrims' pride.

The watershed separates raindrops and snowflakes to divergent destiny. Race, religion, birth, and condition, also seem to divide. But on the heights the line of separation is thin; and in duty again all difference of direction is consecrated to unity of purpose. In our nation no divides but are instrumentalities of service. Clinging to his Judaism, the Jew will be a more strenuous, a more loyal, a more enthusiastic American.

May God bless our country; keep it in His protection. May His light shine out o'er it, and His peace abide and abound in it. This is the prayer of the Jew on this, the Jewish-American anniversary day of joy and solemn resolves. Answer it, God in heaven, in Thy mercy. Amen, Amen!

ADDRESS BY REV. DR. M. HELLER

Our President, in his proclamation of Thanksgiving, recalls the grim conditions of hardship, privation, and constant danger under which, nearly three hundred years ago, the Puritan pioneers set aside a day for public thanks to God, a day which has become, alongside with our marvelous growth and unparalleled prosperity, a national institution.

The American Jew, blessed with peace and plenty almost beyond his brothers in any other land, has special reasons for joining whole-heartedly with his fellow-citizens in a festival for which his Bible furnished the pattern, in which his prophets would have recognized a foreshadowing of the brotherhood-faith at the end of time. The hymn of gratitude, the Hallelujah psalm, is innocent of creed assertion or of sectarian barrier. We are all human in our need of God's blessing, all children while we are joying in His goodness. God's house, at such a time, becomes, in very deed, as our seers yearned it should be, a "house of prayer for all the nations."

Not because we wish to group ourselves apart in the general chorus, but because our special thanks accord perfectly with the universal service, we have raised this day out of the ordinary succession of thanksgiving days by commemorating thereon the quarter-millennial anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States. It is matter for profound gratitude that we can look back in these United States with a sense of congratulation upon all these years of undisturbed peace and steadfast growth; it is because

we cannot feel ourselves other than a part of the great citizenship of this blessed country that we refuse to set aside a separate day, but would rather join our celebration with the general observance.

It was in the month of September of the year 1654 that in the quaint American-Dutch town of New Amsterdam there landed with the vessel *St. Catarina* a party of twenty-three Jewish refugees. They came from Brazil, where they had fought bravely, but in vain, to assist the Dutch against the victorious Portuguese. They arrived virtually penniless; having been unable to pay the passage money, their goods were seized, two of the party imprisoned, until the wealthier could obtain money from Holland to pay for the poorer members of the party. The bigoted and testy governor, Peter Stuyvesant, was for shipping them back at once; he would have no Jews in his colony. But his masters of the Dutch West India Company, though they called the arrival an "invasion," would not hear of any such injustice; they directed him to permit these men to settle and trade "provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or the community, but be supported by their own nation."

Even the Dutch West India Company, however, drew certain limits around the fairness for which it contended against the alarmed Stuyvesant. The Jews were not to be admitted to public office; they were to be kept out of the retail trade; their worship was to be altogether private; their houses to be built "close together." The new settlers had not been a year on these shores when they petitioned for the

right of mounting guard with their fellow-citizens in defense of their new homes; that, too, was denied them; to bake and sell bread "with closed doors" was too valuable a privilege to accord the Jews; yet, in the course of less than three years, these men and their successors had approved themselves of such mettle that they were admitted to burgher rights and that one barrier of restraint after another fell away before them. I have not dwelt upon these modest, yet not unworthy, origins from any foolish pride of priority in settlement. It matters comparatively little that the Jew arrived on these shores only a few years after Puritan and Pilgrim, that he preceded the German and the Irish immigration; I thank a kind Providence, for my part, that the *St. Catarina* has not become a kind of Jewish *Mayflower*, to whose list of passengers silly people might refer in proof of the blueness of their blood or the exalted character of their lineage; to me the humblest Russian refugee, escaping from the terrors of the "Holy Empire," is as much of an aristocrat as any member of that proud multi-millionaire family whose German ancestor beat furs at a dollar a day for his Jewish employer.

But our finicky civilization has hit upon the word "alien" by which neatly to circumscribe the horror-haunted Jew when it wishes to slam in his care-furrowed face the door of refuge. The proud Anglo-Saxon countries, pioneers and colonizers of the world, empire builders on foundations of breezy manliness, have been stricken with fear of the "alien," who might take the bread from their mouths; partly as a sop to the labor vote, partly because immigration

has "degenerated," they devise restrictions by which to make more difficult for the robbed and hunger-stricken refugee the entrance to the land of his dreams.

For the Jew, here or anywhere else, "alien" is a singularly unfitting designation. He has never been voluntarily a wanderer, any more than he was, in darker ages, by choice an outcast. He does not lack the sturdy fiber of the pioneer; witness the Jews who encouraged and financed the voyages of Columbus and those who sailed with him and the Portuguese discoverers; witness the hardy Jewish settlers of South Africa and Australia, our own forty-niners and gold hunters of the Yukon; way out on the Nairobi plateau the Zionists found Jewish settlers, even while they were examining the virgin country to report whether England's offer should be accepted or declined by their congress.

The Jew, whenever he migrated in masses, was driven, not by visions of wealth, but by cruel intolerance; these Brazilians were fleeing from the Inquisition, as the Russian Jew, overwhelmed after a brave defense, is turning his back upon the benighted country of Pobiedonostseff.

The people that loved their own country of Palestine with a deathless affection which has outlasted centuries of exile, the people that clung to their beloved Spain with torture and stake ever before their eyes, that people is loyal even to the most cruel of stepfatherlands; when in New York at a mass meeting of Jews the liberation of Russia was announced there were hundreds with tears streaming down their faces, who declared themselves ready to return at once to the

land where they had seen so much misery, to which yet, in their hearts, they had never renounced allegiance.

Not apologetically, upon abject defense against untiring slanderers, but as men, conscious of their worth, American Jews may to-day point with calm pride to the record of their patriotic service during this quarter of a millennium. Small as were their numbers in this country prior to the immigration movements of the last century, we find their names among the builders of the infant colony; Lord Bellamont recognizes gratefully their financial support; they figure among the charter members of commercial bodies and exchanges; as provision agents for the army, as contributors to the erection of Christian churches, they prove themselves capable in business and enlightened in their ideas.

How warmly they participated in the struggles of the revolution is known to every student of American history; it reminds us of our own unforgettable Dr. Gutheim and his patriotism during the secession era, to read of Rabbi Gershom Mendez Seixas leaving New York with most of the members of this community when it was about to be occupied by the British; the services of Isaac Moses to Robert Morris; the inestimable and unrequited sacrifices of Haym Salomon to whom James Madison describes himself as a pensioner upon his bounty; the enthusiastic participation of Jews, from common soldiers to colonel, in the hardships and exploits of Washington's campaigns; all these are matters of record. That we have borne more than our share in every subsequent crisis, that the Jew

has proved himself, in every walk of life a peaceful, industrious, home-loving, and law-abiding member of the commonwealth it is not for us to dwell upon; suffice it to say that whenever the history of these two hundred and fifty years of our dwelling in this blessed land shall be written, it may contain here and there a line that we might wish blotted out, but it will stand unafraid and unashamed by the side of the services and achievements of any other element in our varied population.

It is not, however, of our merits that we ought to think to-day with no matter how justifiable a pride, but rather of our obligations to Providence in the first place, to this glorious country in the second. "Our lines have fallen in pleasant places, yea, our heritage is pleasing unto us." Just at this particular moment when from the East there is borne to us the heart-rending cry of our stricken brothers, when we read, with a shudder, of what insane ferocities a frenzied mob is capable, must we not thank God, with redoubled fervor, for the goodly, broad, and ample land in which He has placed our lot, for its boundless opportunities, its well-appointed, straight-steering Government, above all for the spirit of equity and freedom which is not merely embodied in its laws, but a possession of its people?

Looking back upon our small beginnings and forward to the unfoldment that still awaits us, ought we not, from the view, to bring away with us a warmer allegiance to all the wealth of example and ideal which the past has transmitted, a more patriotic fealty to every principle of freedom and justice, of humanity

and peace which has made our American civilization the beacon light for all aspiring mankind? How else can we attest the genuineness of our gratitude than by the patriotism that will challenge every test of sincerity? How otherwise than by standing guardians over every endangered tradition of enlightened citizenship, of high-aiming polity, of fearless and generous manhood which our Washingtons and our Franklins, our Jeffersons and our Lincolns have bequeathed us?

The Jew is the chosen martyr of inhumanity; wherever men still grope in darkness, wherever the world is still the old primeval forest of savagery with beasts of prey prowling to devour the feeble, there is the Jew the victim, whether of murder and assault and arson, or of slander, discrimination, and ostracism. Haunted by the furies of bigotry, he must clutch in convulsive grasp the Book, heirloom and testament of his fathers, which bids him labor for the triumph of freedom, justice, and peace; with the Egyptians behind him, God's pillar of cloud points out to him the one road to his ultimate land of paradise. He sees in the fathers of this country, in the Puritan and the Pilgrim, in its champions of freedom, in its advocates of humanity, true spiritual heirs of the prophetic spirit; and it is by their sacred names that he vows an eternal enmity to all the foes; of bossism and corruption, of greed and dishonesty, of luxurious indolence and cynic indifference, of tyranny, bigotry, and indifference that threaten to sap the foundations of this noble structure; he pledges himself to lead and to do valiant battle for the preservation of all that has made

these United States not merely a world power of bristling warships and serried armies, but a world influence and a world refuge for peace and fairness and humane service among the nations of the world. Amen!

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR PARDEE, OF CALIFORNIA

The celebration of a two hundred and fiftieth anniversary is for most of us Americans the commemoration of a tolerably ancient historical event, but such an occurrence is merely an affair of yesterday for a people whose annals began before Rome or Babylon. The Jew is at once the oldest and the most modern of races, fully meriting in this respect the remarkable tribute of Mark Twain, which I cannot do better than to quote: "The Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Persian," he said, "rose, filled the planet with sound and splendor, then faded to dream stuff and passed away; the Greek and Roman followed and made a vast noise, and they are gone; other peoples have sprung up and held their torch high for a time, but it burned out, and they sit in twilight now, or have vanished. . . . All things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?"

The Jewish state, in due time, went to pieces, like all other great states of antiquity, but the Jewish people, unlike other peoples of the Old World, are still with us, distinct, individual, unmistakable; that constitutes the marked difference between them and other races. Even though dispersed to the ends of the earth, they remain a force and play an even more important part in the modern world than they did in the ancient one. The prophets of Israel spoke truly when they said this people had been chosen for a great destiny.

In this New World, to which the Jewish pioneers came two hundred and fifty years ago, the experience of the race was fated to differ a good deal from that in the older one. It has been a pretty good world for the Jew, the same as it has been for the rest of us. He has here escaped the persecutions which have followed him continually in the other hemisphere. It is said those nations are the happiest which have no history, and it can almost be said that in America, as a race, the Jew has no history, merely because he has not been hunted and outlawed. The Jew has made contributions to the sum total of our national achievements, but he has done it as an individual and not as a class. He has always been a good American. In the Revolution, when there were but few Jews in the country, they fought in the patriot armies and contributed of their wealth to the scanty resources of the Continental Congress. In the War of 1812, the war with Mexico, and the Civil and Spanish wars, the Jew was always well to the front as a soldier. The Jew seldom makes it his trade to fight, but when he considers fighting a duty, he can perform it fearlessly.

But it is in the arts of peace and not of war that the Jew in America has made his best record, for he is essentially industrious and thrifty. He has been the leading financier of a thousand prosperous communities. He has been enterprising and aggressive. His genius for commerce has here had free play, and he has a little more than held his own with all competitors. Withal, he has been a good citizen. He has been one of the best friends of the public school, to which he generally sends his children, whether he be rich or poor.

He believes in education. He wants his sons to have the best training to enable them to do their part in the world's work. He is a liberal supporter of colleges, libraries, hospitals, and relief societies. He takes care of the poor of his own race and helps care for other people's poor. He possesses human sympathy, and it is backed up by business judgment. When he establishes a charity it is very sure to be well administered. He has a gift for practical idealism. He is an organizer and believes in associated effort. He is able to "get together." Whatever movement may be on foot to promote the welfare of a community —whether it be to organize a chamber of commerce, to establish a new bank, or to build a big hotel—the Jewish business-man is sure to do his part. He is naturally conservative, but at the same time enterprising.

In Europe, during the last few centuries, the Jewish race has given the world an extraordinary number of men and women of genius, demonstrating that the inspiration of the old Hebrew prophets and poets has lost none of its genuineness in its descent of three thousand years. There is no field of knowledge which Jewish scholars have not cultivated with success—history, geography, mathematics, philology, philosophy, physics, medicine, law, music, and the fine arts. In the history of all the sciences, there are eminent Jewish names. It would be an honor to any race to have produced a Spinoza, a Herschell, a Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and a Heine. To these names I might add Lasalle, Bendavid, Beer, Wilna, Mendelssohn, Halevy, Meyerbeer, Moscheles, Auerbach, Zangwill, Joachim,

Rubenstein, Wieniawski, Rachel, Grisi, Bernhardt, and a long list of others.

All of these famous names belong, of course, to Europe and not to America, but in philosophy and music this country has not yet commenced to have any great names belonging to any race, and until recently the Jewish population has been merely a handful and very busily occupied in quite different pursuits. The finer fruits of its genius will ripen here as elsewhere in due time.

The number of Jews in the United States, now amounting to about a million and a half, has been recruited very rapidly, as you know, during the last twenty years, and the immigration promises to continue large, so long as the present unhappy conditions prevail in Russia. That country, which is now the scene of a great civil convulsion, contains half of all the Jews in the world, and they are being driven to emigrate by the studied policy of their rulers. The great churchman, Pobiedonostseff, the zealot who has dominated the civil and religious policy of the empire during the reactionary reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II, is said to have boasted that the persecutions of the Jews would make Christian converts of one-third of them, would starve another third, and would drive the remaining third to America or some other foreign country. It has not been learned that many Russian Jews have been converted, though perhaps some have been starved; but a million of them have emigrated, and this gives the United States a very direct and strong interest in the events which are transpiring in the land of the Czar. For this

immigration will go on so long as the state of affairs in Russia remains substantially unaltered, and it necessarily has a direct bearing on economic and social conditions in the United States. Twenty-five years ago Russian Jews were coming to this country at the rate of about a thousand per year, but recently the number of these immigrants has grown to seventy-five thousand a year. The State of New York has already a Jewish population of over half a million, and it is clear that in the future the Jewish element is going to constitute quite a fraction of our total population.

But while for these reasons the people of the United States have a very real interest in what the Government of Russia does to render good or bad the lot of the five million Jews in that distant land, we are vastly more concerned for reasons of humanity. The dominant feeling with regard to recent occurrences in Odessa and other Russian cities is the horror of it all. The slaughter, through race prejudice, of literally thousands of peaceful, industrious, inhabitants of a single city is such wholesale cruelty as had not before been known for many decades in any country calling itself civilized or even semicivilized. A few years since there occurred the Kishineff riots, in which some fifty persons lost their lives, several hundreds were injured and two thousand families were ruined. That outrage aroused the indignation of the world, and the international resentment was so strong that the Czar and his advisers found it necessary to go through the form of trying and punishing the principal offenders, although their murderous acts amounted to little more

than carrying to its logical conclusion the policy of oppression which the government itself had been pursuing for a dozen years. But the horrors of Kishineff pale into insignificance in comparison with the dreadful events of the last few weeks, which do indeed stagger humanity.

It is true that these slaughters were mainly the work of mobs, crazed by the excitement of a revolutionary crisis, and that there is no reason to believe the Emperor and his counselors would have permitted such excesses, if they could have prevented them at the moment. But governments which have adopted oppression as a consistent policy cannot excuse themselves if a passion-blinded populace supplements systematic cruelty by murderous assaults upon those whom they have been taught to regard as their racial enemies.

No nation has ever more grievously oppressed a people whom duty called upon it to favor and protect. Think for a moment of the giant injustice involved in the whole scheme of concentrating the Jewish population within narrow limits and restricting their freedom of employment. Industrial conditions in Russia are none too good at the best, but they are hard indeed for the five millions of Jews of the Pale, who are compelled to reside within a district embracing but one twenty-third of the territories of the empire, and even there are required to congregate in the congested towns and cities and cannot reside in the small villages or in the country. What wonder that a large portion of the whole Jewish population is always on the verge of starvation and that discontent is rife among the

whole mass? The Russian Government complains because many Jews are socialists, but when we remember the cruel injustice to which they are subjected, it is a wonder that the whole population does not join the revolutionary movement. And yet when Russia needs soldiers to fight her battles, she calls freely upon the Jews, and it is pathetic to see how loyally they respond. In the late war with Japan, it is said thirty thousand Jews were in the regiments which went to the front, and many of them laid down their lives for a government which possesses no more sense of gratitude than to try to drive to starvation or emigration the families of these men.

But such wrongs cannot endure forever, since they are bound to drag down any government which is responsible for them. The Russian autocracy has at last sunk under the weight of the odium it had rolled up, and at length we have the promise of a free Russia—a constitutional and liberal government which will not adopt a policy of deliberate oppression toward any class of its people. That this promise will be realized will be the hope of every friend of freedom, and it finds considerable support in such occurrences as the adoption of resolutions of sympathy by the Zemstvo Congress in session in Moscow. So, although the recent massacres were the most tragic event in the whole history of the Jews in Russia, there is reasonable ground to cherish the belief that the end of these things is near at hand in the breakdown of the whole system of tyrannical oppression of the Israelitish race in the land of the Great White Czar, who is likely to become soon merely the constitutional

sovereign of his hundred and thirty millions of people, and if so, there will be none more prosperous, more industrious, and more loyal than the five million Hebrews. When that time comes the Jews of Russia will be what the Jews of America have always been—good citizens, devoted to the preservation of governmental institutions which guarantee justice to all races and all men.

And we here to-day, celebrating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the advent of the Jews in America, rejoice that, at last, even though it be through blood and fire, the only civilized nation in the world that, at the beginning of this twentieth century, oppressed the Jew will be compelled, by the very force of events, to become more tolerant, more merciful, more civilized toward the people, who from the very dawn of history, have made headway against oppression in all the arts and sciences. What other people could have suffered the outrages, the crimes, the persecutions of six thousand years and still survived as have the Jews? What other people, coming from the Judengasse within half a century could have climbed so high, even to the courts of Europe, as have the Jews?

America has been a happy haven for the oppressed Jew. And, while America has done much for him, he has done much for America.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WHEELER, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

To-day a peculiar New World festival called Thanksgiving Day is celebrated for the two hundred and eighty-fifth time. Its first occurrence was at the hands of the Plymouth Pilgrims, a peculiar people zealous of good works. These Pilgrims had sought the New World in the instinct of liberty of conscience, and by this liberty they meant for themselves the freedom to worship God according to their own conscience, and for other people who sojourned among them they meant that, if such people agreed with them, they were "to feel," as Heman Lincoln said, "at perfect liberty to say so." These Pilgrims, now, were Old Testament Christians. The Jehovah they worshiped was endowed with the attributes both of justice and mercy, but they were shrewd Old Testament Christians withal, and esteemed it wise and prudent to keep sharp lookout on the justice of God before risking too much on the mercy of God. They were, furthermore, loyal Old Testament Christians, and the Jehovah they worshiped was a jealous God who not only frowned upon their service to the gods of the worldly and frivolous, but smiled upon them when they smote the Amorites and the Hivites and the Jehusites and the Perrizzites, and drove them from their lands. Within their borders there was no place of welcome for such abominations as the Baptists and the Jews.

They were a peculiar and separate people, were these Pilgrims and Puritans; they had hearkened unto

the injunction: Go ye out from among them; be ye not of them. But in their separation and isolation they laid strong the foundations of a social and national life, applying thereto the Old Testament law of right and wrong; and now their successors, even they who have differentiated religion from the state, still recognize in piety the fact, when on Thanksgiving Day their President and governors bid them look to the Giver of all gifts, that God is implicit in the state, and that it is righteousness, after all, which exalteth a nation.

From the narrow theocratic community on Massachusetts Bay, which laid the foundations for Thanksgiving Day, it is a long step to the broad nation of many bloods and faiths, which holds nothing common or unclean that breathes with human interest or carries the divine burden of human fate. And yet, long as is the step, that nation by right of succession holds in its keeping still the sacred ark of Thanksgiving Day, now become a national feast, and consecrated to the family as a pillar of the state and to God as the Father of nations. They have grown and widened their bounds together—the nation and the day—until now they belong alike in common possession to Puritan and Cavalier, to Baptist, Quaker, Catholic, and Jew. And therewith, in equal step, has grown and unfolded man's idea of God, until the tribal and sectarian God of Bradford and of Joshua has become the God of all the peoples, and they all have become brethren of one another; whereby is fulfilled the far-reaching message of the Hebrew prophet who was among the herdsmen of Tekoa: "Are ye not as the

children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir? "

The broad national religion represented in this institution of Thanksgiving Day unites us all of many bloods and many faiths in the one sacred bond of our national life under the flag; our separate traditions of the struggles, the griefs, and the triumphs of our fathers, of the songs they sang, of the things they loved, of the monuments they reared, of the faiths by which they lived and died—shall inspire us each after our sort, though none can match the birthright issuing from the tradition that is graven in the life and record of Israel. But above our separate interests and our separate inheritances rises majestic the great common heritage of the nation and the nation's faith, whose creed is liberty to think and speak, freedom of opportunity and a square deal among the sons of men.

THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICANISM UPON THE JEW

Address by Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger

From Abraham to Solomon one thousand years; from Solomon to the second destruction of the Temple another thousand years; from that event until date nearly two thousand years. The history of the Jew denationalized covers nearly twice the period of the rise, growth, decline, and fall of his nation. That is a pregnant thought, for it is not generally understood that the best things of Israel acknowledge a cradle not Palestinian. The country of our fathers hath seen much of spiritual glory; aye, we can never forget it, for "out of Zion came forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." The spiritual influences of our ancient home remain fundamental in the development and expansion of the Jewish spirit wherever it manifests itself and whenever it finds opportunity; this once admitted and recognized, we meet with remarkable evidence of the wonderful plasticity of the Jew. It is our boast that this Jew has contributed to the upbuilding of every country; we might go further and admit that every country has contributed to his upbuilding. The process was mutual; only the Jew nationalized everywhere, absorbing elements of national culture, could have become a factor in the processes that encompass national growth and development. This principle of mutuality constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in Jewish history. Already in Biblical times it mani-

fests itself. The plastic spirit of Israel, unfettered to any soil, makes Babylon the stage of one of the eras of its literature. Ezekiel, the second Isaiah, Job, and a number of the Psalmists, maintain the classic genius of the paternal tongue on foreign soil, undaunted by the aspects of captivity which the Israelitish colonies in the Mesopotamian Valley might present. But, leaving this early chapter unconsidered, there are later chapters that attest the remarkable influence of nationalism upon the Jew and his capacity to vindicate the genius of his race as modified by its environments. We have time for but one or two illustrations. The story of the Jews of Alexandria is possibly one of the most interesting of those illustrations. It presents the Jew completely Hellenized. If we remember that Palestinian culture represents those centuries of repugnance of and opposition to Hellenism, that, in point of fact, the Maccabean revolt was a violent reaction toward a purer national life and a religion uninfluenced by modern thought, we may anticipate the rigid contrast between the Jew of Jerusalem and the Jew of Alexandria. And yet this Egyptian Jew, this Alexandrian fallen under the sway of the Hellenic cult, has his own distinguished story—and we own it with pride. For this Hellenist, this Greco-Judean, becomes the medium of communication between the genius of Israel and the pagan world, and the Greek Hexameters of the Sibyllines, the Golden Texts of the Seventy, the symbolism of Philo-Judæus and the philosophic systems of the Gnostics become sources of inspiration through which the nascent Christian faith becomes intelligible to

both Greek and Roman. Alexandrian Judaism is the mother of Paulinian Christianity, which carries to the furthest confines of the world the Messianic teachings of its master, albeit under aspects and conditions of interpretation the mother has never been able to sanction. But we must travel onward and move rapidly, for fraught as is the subject with interesting details, we can present but the barest outlines. As Alexandrian Judaism survives the decay of the Jewish nation, so is Palestinian Judaism perpetuated long after the same catastrophe by the transplanting of its schools to the old stamping ground of Israel, the cradle of its remote ancestry and the home of some of its most illustrious poets. Back to Babylon ventures the Jew and scatters over the extent of the classic valley, from Tadmor in the desert along the old routes, until he claims a home everywhere, from the Caspian to the Gulf of Persia, but mainly concentrates in the old localities; Babylon becomes the center of a Jewish culture that in extent and importance retains its hold upon the Jew of to-day. The country becomes subject to various political agitations; Parthian and Roman, Persian and Moslem, succeed each other, but the Jew becomes again the heir of the thousand years of empire, and while they pass away, he remains and writes his chapter of history. The revival of commerce and culture under the successors of Mohammed finds him prepared for his work. Domesticated, naturalized, and his speech attuned to the kindred languages of the Orient, he becomes a powerful trader, a banker, a manufacturer, but, above all, a scholar. His universities appear in the valley bounded

by the rivers and canals of Babylonia, and the decaying temples of the Sungod look down in amazement upon the synagogues of Israel. The Babylonian Talmud, most monumental of legal commentaries, greatest testimony of the complexity as well as astuteness and refinement of the Jewish mind, the activities of the later compilers and the Gaonim, as well as the political achievements of the Princes of the Exile, represent the Babylonian Jew as nationalized; that is to say, as subject to the environments within which, nevertheless, the Jewish genius is fully at play. From Babylon to Spain is a long stretch, yet Spain is the successor of Babylon, and there, in Spain, he writes another, if not his most glorious chapter. Dwelling with the Moors in Andalusia, and with the Christian in Aragon and Castile, the Spanish Jew is perhaps the most notable instance of a people domesticated, naturalized, and so enabled to contribute to the growth of its home. We are wont to look upon the spiritual and literary achievements of the Spanish Jews as their highest contribution to the modern history of Israel; and with every warrant for doing so, we are apt to forget that the Jew—more as Spaniard than as Jew—contributes to the history of Spain a similarly illuminated chapter. For, in addition to his super-eminent scholarship, in addition to his poetic genius, kissed into life by the bright skies of the peninsula, the five centuries of his residence in Spain made him the backbone of its industries, the mover of its potencies. A vineyardist in Andalusia, a banker in Sevilla and Toledo, a statesman in Granada, a mountaineer in the Guadelajara Range, a cosmographer and navigator in Palos

and Cadiz, a professor at the universities, a statesman and politician at the courts of the Moslem caliphs and the Christian kings, from the time of Tarik's invasion until the doom of unmerited exile fell upon him, such was the Spanish Jew, more completely nationalized in Spain, than were the descendants of Romans or Goths in his time. But this genius of Israel that, stimulated within the environments of every country, constitutes itself a factor in every aspect of civilization, seems really to possess that wonderful plasticity that we have attributed to it, for it can produce an Egyptian Moses, a Canaanitish Samuel, a Babylonian Isaiah; again, an Egyptian Philo; again, a Babylonian Samuel; again, an Egyptian Saadiah, a Spanish Gabirol and a French Rashi, and in later centuries a Dutch Spinoza, a German Heine, an English Disraeli, and an American Benjamin. These names, pronounced offhand, are fairly representative of the important principle we have here sought to enunciate, namely: that the preservation of the Jewish people, as such, results from the operation of mutuality in the sense that, while on the one hand the Jew everywhere contributes his power and his genius to the service of the people among whom he lives, on the other hand, that contribution is made possible by his becoming subject to his environments in a far greater measure than perhaps we have hitherto believed. It is that influence of environment that nationalizes the Jew everywhere, and nowhere in so marked a degree as in the United States.

But at this point we may ask a pertinent question: What do we understand by nationalism and, in a

special sense, by Americanism? A definition at this time would obviously be too technical. Nationalism is the expression of a homogeneity that represents nationhood in a highly developed stage. It is the spirit of a nation in contrast with the spirit of another nation, it is the development of the genius of a nation finally lodged within its geographical limitations. Americanism answers to these conditions and qualifications. It is the expression of a people upon which the spirit of homogeneity begins to operate, a people that in its physical and intellectual characteristics begins to be differentiated from other people and nations; a people that has fallen under the influence of the climatic conditions of its own country and so begins to present different aspects of thought, language, genius, and religion. Now what can be, what is, the influence of this Americanism upon the Jew? In answering this question we must speak with some degree of caution; for, first, it is contended that what is here called Americanism is still in the making, and secondly, the entire Jewish community in the United States, of necessity, has not yet become thoroughly Americanized. It is impossible to draw a parallel between this community and, say, the communities of Egypt or Spain. Here new conditions are created and new principles are operating. The main fact to be considered is, that while we celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in North America, the greatest proportion of the present population of the United States dates its advent from but two decades ago. Twenty-three Jews arrived on the *St. Catarina* in 1654; during the

War of Independence there were barely 3,000 Jews in the entire country; the principal influx previous to the Civil War came from the German and Polish immigration of 1850. Before 1880 there were barely 250,000 Jews in the entire United States, north and south; to-day there are one and a half million, of whom, consequently, a million and a quarter came within the last twenty-five years. If we recollect that the creation of a national, homogeneous spirit is the slow work of ages, we can understand why we must speak with some care of the influence of Americanism upon the Jew. And yet, notwithstanding, there are marvelous facts to relate. In the first place, if we apply the principle to the early Jewish settlers and to the immigrants of the fifties, we can already perceive to what marked degree the Jew is Americanized and as such has contributed more than his proportionate share to the growth of the country. It would only be necessary to refer to the Jewish planters of South Carolina and the puissant Jewish merchants of Georgia and Louisiana, to prove how quickly the processes of nationalization operate on the Jew. The names of the Jewish soldiers and merchants of the revolutionary period, the names of the Jewish statesmen and jurists of the South—Moses de Lyon, Judah P. Benjamin, David Yulee, Solomon Heydenfeldt—furnish the evidence of the operation of the national spirit upon the Jew, when once he has been domesticated and has become as one with the people of his adoption. The muster rolls of the Northern armies adduce an eloquent and powerful testimony to what German Jewish boys thought of their adopted country only a decade

after their arrival; again the muster rolls of the Confederacy, along with thousands of German Jewish names, contain, almost without any exception, the names of the latest descendants of the old Spanish and Anglo-Jewish families, many of whom died an honorable death upon the battle field. It is singular indeed how quickly the Jew becomes domesticated and is inspired to offer his services to his country. The Jewish soldiers of both North and South, with the exceptions noted, were almost entirely foreigners, and this remarkable devotion can only be attributed to the lively affection Jews all over the world entertain for this country, the home of liberty and honorable opportunity. The English and German Jews became a great power here; in commerce, in manufactures, in finance, in international trade, in politics, in science and art, they interweave their tremendous energy and industry with those of the people. From Maine to California, from New York to Texas, the German Jew in an incredibly short period becomes domesticated, and not only in the counting house, but in the schools of the country, in the halls of council, aye, in every form of expression that represents national culture, civilization, and progress, he contributes of his best, stimulated by the operation of mutuality, a principle that, because it made him an American, enabled him to remain Jew, and so give as much as he received. Were sufficient time allotted me I would be able to produce the list of eminent men and women of German Jewish extraction, who, now thoroughly Americanized, have become potent factors in the life of the American people. How then stands

the case with the million and more of the immigrants of recent date? I feel happy indeed, that, on this particular day of historical reminiscence, I may speak of them in the liveliest terms of appreciation. The country must have been astounded when, at the breaking out of the Spanish War in 1898, a regiment of Russian Jews at New York, and another at Philadelphia, all men who had seen service in the armies of the Czar, promptly offered their services to President McKinley of honorable and illustrious memory; that, at least, was an evidence of the patriotism of which the Russian Jew is capable. But here other factors enter into the discussion. The Russian Jew represents at the present time the most gifted element in Jewry. He has carried the Jewish center of gravity with him to New York City. Three-quarters of a million of Jews, a population nearly as large as the entire population of Palestine in more than one of its historical periods, are in that great metropolis alone, and it is stupid indeed to assume or to conclude that they are mere soldiers of fortune, poverty-stricken wanderers, whose ignorance keeps them from contact with the American spirit. The reverse is true. This remarkable population contains, in more than a proportionate degree, scholars, artists, poets, philosophers, distinguished orators, and *littérateurs*, an army of choice spirits with whom Americanization will be but a question of time, when they will fully enter into the life of the country. In fact they have already done so. At the present day they furnish already a considerable force in the service of the country and its people. Russian Jews have entered the universities; they are

among the most capable teachers in the public schools; as pamphleteers, essayists, and journalists they scarcely have equals; and the growing popularity of certain classes of literature with which he is identified bears testimony to his influence. In commerce he forges ahead; the immigrant of yesterday is to-morrow's millionaire; the poor "sweater" of a decade ago is to-day a manufacturer; and the tremendous energy of this gifted people is becoming a factor in the industrial life of the United States. Now, if so much can be accomplished in two decades, what must be the result, looking ahead a century? What will not the national spirit achieve for them? Trained in the schools of the country, their genius modified by national environments, their souls freed from the anguish of decades of persecution, what will be the future of this new Jewry of the United States, welded into a homogeneous unit with the older elements from Germany, from England, from Spain, from France and the Indies? It is folly to venture upon predictions—yet there are parallels, the parallels of Egypt, of Babylon, of Spain, of England, to determine at least a glowing, eloquent hope that these Redeemed of the Lord, in the years to come, will render as illustrious service to their country and their nation as their forbears did in the centuries agone under difficulties that can never present themselves in this blessed land of liberty! And here we may rest the case—content that the American Jew will give a brave account of himself in the chronicles that will record the achievements of this great American nation! And may this Jew of the new hemisphere, may he remain

loyal to the two great principles his cognomen indicates. May he be loyal American and loyal Jew, true to the influence and the spirit that made him an American, true to the influence and the spirit that endow him with the historic aspects of the Jew! If he will, who knows but that he will parallel the eloquent page of the Spaniard, and that he, the American Jew, will brighten the record of American history with the noblest intellectual achievements?

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR FOLK, OF MISSOURI

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 21st instant received. I thank you, and through you those who have joined in extending this invitation to me to address your people at Temple Shaare Emeth on Thanksgiving morning. I regret, however, that because of engagements already made, it will not be practicable for me to meet your wish.

In common with the whole civilized world, I have read with the deepest feeling of regret and sympathy the outrages to which the Jewish people in Russia have been subjected. Like the martyrs of old, they have given up their lives for their faith, and their going cannot but be a splendid example to their brethren throughout the world.

Already a mighty movement is being fostered, looking to the relief of those who have escaped, and it is felt and believed throughout this State that the Russian Government must soon take cognizance of this slaughter of the innocents, to the end that they may be sheltered under the strong arm of the law, and once more be permitted to become citizens in fact.

Missouri will do her part toward bringing about this needed reform, and offers a home among a people who recognize the right of religious worship to all who may come to become citizens of this Commonwealth, where virtue is honored and God is worshiped according to the dictates of the individual conscience.

Our Jewish fellow-citizens have always been loyal

and public spirited, and the State of Missouri cannot better be promoted than by such citizens, who alone make the best success of the nation. I congratulate them upon this spirit, and trust as well that they will continue to be factors for good, like all their fellow-citizens who love their country with a true and unselfish patriotism.

JOSEPH W. FOLK.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

SELECTED EDITORIAL UTTERANCES FROM THE NEWSPAPER PRESS

(*The celebration evoked appropriate editorial utterances in the newspapers of the country, North and South, East and West, several hundred of these having come to the notice of the Committee. With so many interesting and suggestive editorials to choose from, the task of selecting a few as typical was necessarily a difficult one. As, however, space requirements rendered it impracticable to choose more than a dozen of these interesting and spontaneous utterances concerning American Jewish citizenship, it was concluded to make the selection with reference not merely to the character and interest of the particular editorial, but also so as fairly to reflect the sentiments of papers representing varying opinions and geographical location. This will explain the following rather arbitrary selection of editorials, all of which were published on or about Thanksgiving Day, 1905.*)

THE HEBREW IN AMERICA

From the *Atlanta Constitution*

The coming of the Hebrew to America was even more of a release from oppression to full liberty than was that of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the condition

of the Jew in Russia to-day makes the historical reason for this emigration two centuries and a half ago appear doubly significant, invested as it is with such modern significance. The chapter Russia is furnishing on Jewish persecution reads as if it were extracted from a history of the dark ages, when the Jew was every nation's prey and every man's victim.

The Hebrew population of the United States very generally observed the anniversary in question, meeting in their synagogues on Thanksgiving Day to commemorate the arrival toward the end of 1654 of the first Jewish settlers on the soil of what is now the United States, but what was then a Dutch colony. Writing of the celebration, Mr. Max J. Kohler, secretary of the American Jewish Historical Society, said:

"The approaching Thanksgiving Day will thus have a special significance for the million and a quarter of Jews residing in this land, who will then invoke God's blessing upon this beloved country, which first among the nations of modern times recognized the Jew's title to all the rights of man, and permitted him, in common with all other members of the body politic, to worship the Almighty Father according to the dictates of his own conscience."

One of the results of the impressive celebration in Carnegie Hall, New York City, Thursday, was the establishment of a fund for the erection of a permanent memorial in New York.

The Jew not only found liberty in America in the fullest sense, but he found brotherhood among the composite population of the United States. And in return for this liberty and brotherly treatment he has

given the great republic one of its highest types of citizenship. The American Hebrew is statistically proven to be the most valuable kind of a citizen. He is among our largest property holders and taxpayers; he is in the vanguard of all progressive moral and material movements; he is a large contributor to philanthropy, education, and charity; he is generally to be found on the side of good government and civic purity, regardless of partisanship, and he does not contribute to the burden of government by furnishing an appreciable per cent of its criminals and paupers. The Jew is everywhere acknowledged to be a first-class American citizen, and since the foundation of our present national life his exemplary conduct as citizen and man has earned for him the respect and fellowship of all Americans.

To-day, in every city of the Union, the Jewish portion of the population is a part of its civic backbone and moral sinew, as well as among its most responsible material assets. It is so in Atlanta, as every citizen of Atlanta knows. The Hebrew has made a great record in the United States, one of which all Americans are proud.

THE JEWISH RACE

From the *Boston Post*

The celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of immigrants of the Jewish race in this country was very appropri-

ately made upon the day of the National Thanksgiving. For here, in this republic of equal rights and freedom of endeavor as well as of belief, this people have found their most prosperous development. And this has come to them, not as a class or as separatists in blood or in religion, but as Americans, members of the great commonwealth. The first Jewish immigrants came to America from Brazil, fleeing the intolerance of the Portuguese rule in that land. They bore their share in the struggle for independence of the colonies, but even so late as a century ago their number in the entire Union hardly exceeded 2,000. To-day the enumeration would reach more than a million and a half. Largely they have come, as did the first small colony from Brazil, to escape persecution in Europe; and nothing more remarkable is presented in the history of this nation than the adaptation of these people to the environment of liberty and to expansion under the sunlight of free institutions.

The United States now stands third among the countries of the world in its Jewish population. In Russia, where the lot of the Jews is the hardest and their oppression the most cruel, they number about 5,000,000; in Austria-Hungary about 2,000,000; in the United States about 1,600,000. Relatively to the immigration of other races, they have not come in great numbers. In the latter half of the last century there was a German immigration of about 5,000,000, and of Irish about 3,750,000. Even the last census showed that more than 2,500,00 of our population were of German birth and nearly 1,750,000 of Irish birth. The population of foreign parentage, or with

one or both parents foreign, numbered 26,198,939, and of these nearly 8,000,000 were German and 5,000,000 Irish. In 1900 we had more people of Canadian birth by half a million than of Jews. Even the immigration from the Scandinavian countries has been about as great as the Jewish during the last fifty years. The Italians did not begin to come over in any large numbers till 1880, yet they are now here by more than a million.

The mere numerical comparison, however, does not tell the whole story by any means. The Jewish immigrants who come in with an average wealth of only fifteen dollars each, as appears from the statistics of the immigration bureau, have shown a notable ability to take care of themselves. They become self-supporting with great rapidity, and prosperity follows. They are dependent only in the smallest degree upon charitable assistance outside of that which is furnished by the benevolent organizations of their own race. Their independence is a fitting development of the character which we feel proud to call American. And not only in trade and finance, but in literature, in art, in the learned professions, the talent possessed by these people makes a distinctly recognizable mark in the schedule of our national greatness. "What our Jewish fellow-citizens have done to increase the material advancement of the United States," said Grover Cleveland in his address at the New York meeting, "is apparent on every hand and must stand confessed. But the best and highest Americanism is something more than materialistic. Its spirit, which should make it imperishable and immortal, exists in its patriotic

aspirations and exalting traditions. On this higher plane of our nationality and in the atmosphere of ennobling sentiment, we also feel the touch of Jewish relationship."

THE JEWISH CELEBRATION

From the *Brooklyn Eagle*

The celebration of the first settlement of the Jews on Manhattan Island was observed in Carnegie Hall, Thanksgiving Day. The purpose was to signalize the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that event. The occasion was marked by a thoughtful speech from Grover Cleveland, by a searching letter from President Roosevelt, by a notable address delivered by Bishop Greer, and by addresses by members of the Jewish race and faith who stand in high relations to their order. Among the latter was Judge Sulzberger of Philadelphia. Governor Higgins was also heard from in words of marked thoughtfulness and sympathy. The address of Mayor McClellan was excellent in itself and was marked by that earnest manner which renders anything from him most impressive. The presiding officer was Jacob Schiff, the well-known financier. It is understood that a verbatim account of the occasion will be printed in the principal Jewish papers. That account could well receive large circulation among Gentiles as well as Jews, for the meeting was an historical celebration of what has come to be an historical event.

Like many historical facts, the beginning of this one was humble, and its enormous consequences were unforeseen. Jews who had been crowded out of Portugal, who were then cold-shouldered out of Brazil, and who in vain sought opportunity in the West Indies, came to New Amsterdam, whence Peter Stuyvesant sought to extrude them, but where asylum was given to them by his superiors in Holland. Their right of freehold, of military service, and of citizenship at last came, but generations were required for them to attain all of those rights and, at the first, each of them was to a degree restricted. They are elsewhere restricted to this day, but the places are few, and all bans or disqualifications are being lifted. At the present time the tragedy of the world is the situation in Russia. Much of that tragedy is due to or is marked by the oppression of the Jews, and much of it may be said to be a punishment for such oppression.

We need not consider too closely the causes which render the oppression of the Jew a satire on civilization and the pathos of history. That the treatment had its text or pretext in what men call religion can be conceded. That such religion is becoming discounted and notably reformed is evident. The theology, the history, and the poetry of the past abound with chapters of persecution of the Jews because of religion, and, to a degree, with persecution by the Jews for the same reason, or in the same name. The disappearance of persecution, the upcome of toleration, the recrudescence of liberality, are the excellent features of modern times.

It can be said that few republics, if any, have de-

nied freedom of thought and freedom of worship, and that very few monarchies, if any, whether despotisms or whether constitutional forms of rule, have escaped periods in which persecution has not been a recourse or a habit. Where the people now govern, through a republic in fact or in form, in form as in the United States and in France, in fact as in Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and the like, persecution of Jews does not now occur. In monarchies, "broad-based upon the people's will," such persecution, if once practiced, has since ceased. The measure of governmental freedom is, therefore, the measure of religious freedom.

It is the glory of the United States that since the establishment of the republic in 1776, and even before the promulgation of the Federal Constitution, freedom of religion has absolutely prevailed in this nation. It did not prevail in all of the colonies, from which the republic was formed, but it did in most of them. It prevailed at an earlier period in the Middle and in the Southern colonies than in some of the Eastern ones. But it eventually prevailed in all parts of New England and in Maryland, which were the slowest to concede it. We should like to be able to give to New York, whether as a colony or as a State, the primary credit of the largest liberty and the broadest toleration. That credit, however, belongs to Rhode Island, and is due to Roger Williams, who was crowded out of Massachusetts, and who in Rhode Island proclaimed what he called "soul liberty," a phrase and a fact which entitle him to the immortality that he has won.

The meeting in Carnegie Hall cast neither praise

nor blame on the past. It did not seek to account for it, to atone for it, or to moralize it. The meeting was content to note and to applaud the toleration of the present and the spread and dominance of that toleration. Undertoning with sadness and with indignation all that was said were the references to the persecution of the Jews in Russia, which is now in the throes of revolution. Those references made every word spoken yesterday a testimony on behalf of toleration, of humanity, of civic equality, and of religious freedom. That testimony will survive the words in which it was expressed. The occasion will be framed in the memory of men and in the literature of this century as a tribute to toleration, to civic liberty, and to religious freedom. This is the value of it. This insures the celebrity of it. This guarantees the honor of it. This establishes the significance of it, and this, whether for Jew or for Gentile, secures the honor as well as the value, the indestructibility as well as the potency of it. The meeting was one in which it was an honor to speak and an honor merely as listeners to participate. None of those there, and none upon whom the effect of the occasion may come, as readers of it, will ever be able to escape its enlarging influence. Everyone will progressively become the subject of that influence. The occasion, even as a memory or a record, will rise to rebuke narrowness, to condemn proscription and to satirize sectarianism, wherever attempts to appeal to prejudice or to abridge freedom or to question the competency of men to do their own thinking and to frame, to enforce, and to vindicate self-government may be made.

There was one word which outclassed Jew or Gentile, Hebrew or Christian, as terms in the minds of those who spoke and of those who heard them. The word was American. Citizenship came to honor by that fact. Nationality came to recognition by that fact. Loyalty and law came to consciousness and to acclamation by that fact. The fact made the spirit or soul of the entire occasion. It made the occasion itself forever significant. And to none was it more significant than to the Jews assembled, and to none of them was it so significant as to their spiritual, their political, and their business magnates. The inferiority of the things whereon we disagree to the things whereon we all agree, was vividly and vitally shown by the entire demonstration. That demonstration was notable in every respect which can add distinction to celebration. We are glad that the Empire State was the scene of the event commemorated, and has been the theater of the extraordinary evolution of results from that event. The metropolis is the home of toleration as well as of enterprise, and the metropolis never passed under a finer influence than that to which it was subjected by the significant meeting in its principal hall of assembly, on Thursday afternoon.

THE RISE OF THE JEWS

From the *Denver Republican*

When, nearly a hundred years ago, Byron sang the song of Zion's sorrow in his beautiful tribute to the tribe of the wandering foot and weary breast, all

Jews were under a political ban and socially ostracized in every country of the globe save the United States alone. The story of their rise in power since then is told by Charles M. Harvey in an interesting and instructive article printed in the latest number of *Leslie's Weekly*, wherein he declares their progress in "the face of prejudices more obstructive than hostile statutes" to be one of the marvels of the present age.

Masters of money-making for a thousand years, the bankers and brokers of the middle ages and of the earlier period of modern times, they were feared by the ignorant and persecuted by the strong. Nearly every avenue of effort was barred against their entrance. Lacking opportunity to employ their powers in other directions than money-lending, they suffered the world to believe that science and art, literature, law, statecraft, and whatever else appealed to the intellect and the nobler emotions rather than to the fear and avarice of man, were to them unknown and impossible.

It was reserved for our own day to witness their emancipation from this serfdom of bigotry and prejudice. Following Goethe's advice that he who would reach the infinite should venture into the finite on every side, their strong men have overlooked no path, have neglected no field, but in every direction have pressed forward until they occupy to-day some of the most commanding places in the world of literature and science, in finance, in commerce, and in government. Racial virility has made them conquerors. They have demonstrated their adaptability to every station and secured at last the recognition which their

talents and energies have compelled the world to accord.

Eleven million Jews inhabit the earth to-day, five million of whom are in Russia and two million in Austria-Hungary. Fifteen hundred thousand have made their homes in the United States, nearly one-half of whom are in the city of New York. They are coming at the rate of one hundred thousand a year, and in Mr. Harvey's opinion their number in the United States twenty years hence will exceed that of any other country in the world. Oppressed in Austria and persecuted in Russia, they are leaving those countries in eager throngs, pushing toward this new promised land, where their wandering feet can find the paths of prosperity and peace.

This afternoon in the First Baptist Church a meeting will be held to consider ways and means whereby aid may be extended to the afflicted and suffering men and women of this race in Russia. It was called by some of the leading clergymen of the city, addresses will be delivered by well-known speakers, and an opportunity will be given those who may be present to express, by appropriate resolutions, sympathy for the unfortunates, and horror at the cruelty to which they have been subjected.

A JEWISH FESTIVAL

From the *Mexico City Herald*

The Jews of the United States are about to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the

permanent settlement of men of their race and faith in what is now the territory of the great republic. It is related that, a quarter of a millennium ago, Jacob Barsimson, a Jew, landed at New Amsterdam (New York) to seek his fortune, and somewhat later twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil arrived at the same port, which was destined in ages to come to be the gateway to a land of promise for thousands of oppressed Hebrews from many lands and to have itself a large Hebrew population.

The Anglo-Saxon nations, with the wisdom and liberality which guide their public policy, have for long past signalized themselves by their humane and enlightened treatment of men of all races and religions seeking their shores, and in their territory the Jews have found opportunities afforded to them in no other land. In England in recent times a Jew has risen to the highest office under the crown, and on more than one occasion a Jew has figured as the civic head of the greatest of modern capitals. In the United States every avenue is open to the Jew, and in American finance the Jews occupy high, but not the most commanding positions.

This fact, which is really of extreme interest, affords the key both to the harsh, repressive measures taken against the Jews in some countries and the liberal treatment accorded them in the Anglo-Saxon nations. In backward countries, whose inhabitants, owing either to lack of education and enterprise or to natural apathy and indifference, are unable to compete with the more alert Jew on the basis of equal opportunities, the Jews are persecuted and placed under various

disabilities. On the other hand, in countries whose people are free, energetic, and intelligent, the Jew is not feared, and, therefore, is not antagonized, simply because his Gentile neighbors are able to hold their own against him.

In the United States, prominent as are the Jews in finance, they do not own the largest fortunes. They are a factor and an important one in the business life of the American metropolis, but they do not dominate it.

And it is a noteworthy, but yet, properly considered, a perfectly natural fact, that the Jews themselves, in a liberal and tolerant environment, divest themselves of many of the characteristics which render them unpopular elsewhere. For this reason England and the United States have the best Jews—men of philanthropy, public spirit, and all the other qualities which make men desirable and useful members of a community.

It is hardly necessary to add, in connection with the forthcoming Jewish commemoration in the United States, that Jacob Barsimson was not the first Jew who landed in the New World. Indeed, one of the companions of Columbus, in the discovery of this continent, Luis de Torres, was a Jew. And here it may also be mentioned that Luis de Sanangel and Gabriel Sanchez, friends and patrons of Columbus, belonged to the class numerous in the Spain of that day, viz., of Jews who, outwardly conforming with the dominating worship, adhered in secret to their own tenets, for inquisitorial institutions can control the external acts of men but can never reduce to vassalage what

Byron called the "eternal spirit of the chainless mind."

Undoubtedly in Mexico, long before the year in which Barsimson landed in New York, there were Jews of the outwardly conforming type. Without going deeply into the erudition of the matter, we may remind our readers that the celebrated *autos de fe* in which the Caravajal family perished took place in the years 1596 and 1601. The records of these curious cases were brought to light some years ago by Vicente Riva Palacio and published by him in the "Libro Rojo."

In this enlightened age the Jewish community of Mexico is numerous, prosperous, and influential. Its members celebrate openly the feasts and fasts of their religion and oh! shades of the Inquisitors Don Alonso de Peralta y Gutierre, Don Bernardo de Quiroz, and Don Martos de Bohorquez, are talking of erecting a synagogue where they will gather for worship under the ægis of the religious freedom won by the wisdom and firmness of the immortal Juarez.

JEWISH IDEALISM

From the *New York Evening Post*

For the next ten days the press will teem with articles telling of the progress of the Jews in America, since their arrival just two hundred and fifty years ago. Their achievements in science, commerce, and finance will be recounted. The patriotism displayed

by the 7,884 members of their race who served the Union during the Civil War will rightly be dwelt upon. As for the material successes of the Jews, merely to describe them would require volumes.

But it is not so useful to ask what America has done for the Jew, as what the Jew has done for America. If the Hebrews were to be judged merely by their ability to make money speedily, the verdict in their favor would be instant. But there are other questions to be asked. What has the Jew contributed to American ideals? What has he done to better the country spiritually? What is our debt to him in the higher fields of human activity, in the domain of literature, music, and art? If these queries cannot be answered in his favor, we must admit that there would be reason to ask with alarm when the heavy Jewish immigration is to stop; and to view with dread the growth of the Hebrew population of this city and country.

Let it be said at the outset that no section of our variegated population has ever set up a higher ideal of what the home ought to be than the Jews. Be it because there still survives in Jewish life the Scriptural tradition of the family as an institution in which the patriarch reigns supreme, or because their social isolation has caused them to cling more closely to one another than would otherwise be the case, in the average Jewish home of culture there is a reverence for age and a tenderness of affection far too often lacking where Anglo-Saxon traditions prevail. This is not simply the result of the league for offense and defense which Jews have consciously or unconsciously

been compelled to form—thanks to Christians. There is in all their relations of family life a mutual regard and respect, with a recognition of the claims of kinship, well worthy of imitation. And this virtue extends to the community also. No other portion of our population cares so well or so liberally for its sick, its aged, its dependents. And no other aids so freely the helpless and lowly of other sects. The lists of donors to the Hebrew charities of New York are singularly barren of Christian names; but so-called "Christian" charities rarely appeal in vain to men of Hebrew faith or descent. Justice was on the side of Rabbi Hirschberg, of Chicago, who commented scathingly last week on the failure of the Christian Church and press to raise their voices in protest against the savage massacres of Jews in Russia. He called for a Garrison to rouse the whole nation to a proper indignation; but if it had been a massacre of Christian missionaries and traders in China, there would have been no need to cry out from the housetops for Jewish sympathy or Jewish money for the survivors.

The thirst for knowledge which fills our city colleges and Columbia's halls with the sons of Hebrews who came over in the steerage, is in itself the best proof of Jewish ideality. The time has long since passed when the Hebrew money lender could be cited as the representative of his race. To medicine and the law the Jew turns with natural facility. In political life he is making himself more and more felt with every decade. Not always are his representatives such as to confer honor on him and his people; but the Christian Americans, who have contributed their Platts, Quays,

and Odells to our roll of statesmen, should be the last to throw a stone. We prefer to dwell on the touching faith with which the East Side Jews followed Mr. Jerome wherever he appeared, in his campaign two years ago, seeking to touch his garments and hear his voice, even when they could not understand his words. Invaluable service our best Jews have performed in every campaign for municipal or national reforms. What would our Reform and City Clubs, our Citizens Union, have been without them and their generous aid? From what uplifting movement have they withheld their support? Certainly not from our social settlements, our civic federations, nor our efforts to establish peace and concord among nations. No man in America has stood for a higher moral standard than Felix Adler, or voiced a purer idealism. No one has spoken out more stoutly against war, the sum of all villainies, than Oscar Straus. Yet to these names could be added a host of others, in and out of the orthodox church; and to such America owes a great debt.

"But for the Jews," said a high Saxon official, in music-loving Germany, a few years ago, "we should have to close the Dresden Opera House, and the same is true at Frankfurt." Of what the Jews have done for American music, it is sufficient to say that our extraordinary musical development is due in very large part to Jewish support. It is not merely that the race has given us a Damrosch, a Joseffy, and a host of minor musicians of talent; from the very beginnings of orchestra and opera the appeal to the Jewish pocket and Jewish sympathy has never been in vain.

If music is thought of as a necessity by any of our people, it is by the Hebrews.

But best of all has been the fortitude and broad-mindedness with which they have borne persecutions and intolerance. "Why seek another Zion? America is the promised land for all Hebrews," said, in effect, the *American Hebrew* a few years ago. Yet with all its religious tolerance, with all its civil and political liberty, the United States has witnessed, and still witnesses, a social antipathy to the Jews, surpassed only in certain sections by the efforts to condemn the negro to perpetual inferiority. Through it all the Jews have borne themselves with exemplary patience and dignity, often with what is misnamed a "Christian" nobility. In this their ideality, as well as their religion, has stood them in good stead. It has been as if with Ruskin they trusted in the "nobleness of human nature, in the majesty of its faculties, the fullness of its mercy," for their eventual justification, and the final disappearance of that blind, unreasoning prejudice from which they have suffered for centuries, and with which they may yet have to reckon long.

THE JEWISH THANKSGIVING

From the *New York Globe*

The Thanksgiving Day celebration in honor of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Jacob Barsimson, the first Jewish immigrant to America of record, is of course to be devoted chiefly

to recitals of Jewish progress. Yet the festival, although nominally by, for, and of the children of the dispersion, is not without compliment to the Gentiles—to the English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Swedes, Italians, negroes, even, perhaps, Indians, whose mingled force makes America. The implication of every preliminary notice—indeed, the reason for associating the celebration with a day specially set apart for general thanksgiving—is that this country is the best of all abiding places. The Jews have tried them all, and ought to know.

The facts about American Jews that preparation for the celebration has brought to the front are not only interesting in themselves, but their circulation is calculated materially to reduce the old prejudice to which the Atlantic has not altogether been a bar. The statistics regarding the million and a half Jews throughout the United States and seven hundred and fifty thousand in this city alone; the very considerable share that they have had in the economic upbuilding of the country; their strong representation in the professional as well as the business world; their sympathy for and support of liberal causes, born out of the persecution they have endured from other races; the indubitable evidence that, at bottom, they are very much like the rest of us, and that the Jew of the comic papers and the anti-Semite, like the Irishman of the stage and the A. P. A., is not typical of the race—all of these things are working toward a more enlightened public opinion. Yet we cannot lay claim to the discovery of new principles. Familiar is Jefferson's letter on the persecu-

tion of the Jews, wherein, after noting our fundamental laws in behalf of freedom, it is said: "But more remains to be done, for, although we are free by the law, we are not so in practice. Public opinion erects itself into an Inquisition, and exercises its office with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an *auto da fé*." We are still working away at an uncompleted task.

One of the signs of progress is that the Jew of today, both by himself and by his critics, is interpreted far more rationally than were his forbears. His peculiarities are regarded more as results of external than of internal causes. The tree that fails to grow perpendicularly does so because of pressure. For example, the Jew has been accused of lack of patriotism, yet it is difficult to resist the force of the following argument made by an Englishman many years ago:

"They (the Jews) are precisely what any sect, what any class of men, treated as they have been treated, would have been. If all the red-haired people in Europe had, during centuries, been outraged and oppressed, banished from this place, imprisoned in that, deprived of their money, deprived of their teeth, convicted of the most improbable crimes on the feeblest evidence, dragged at horses' tails, hanged, tortured, burned alive—if, when manners became milder, they had still been subject to debasing restrictions and exposed to vulgar insults, locked up in particular streets in some countries, pelted and ducked by the rabble in others, excluded everywhere from magistracies and honors, what would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair?"

The greatest benefit America has conferred on the Jew is not the opportunity to amass money, but to grow into erect manhood. For two thousand years he never had the chance. If he has failed in some respects to measure up to the complete opportunity, it proves nothing except that it is impossible to set aside at will deep-seated inherited tendencies. But the remedial influences are steadily at work. Prejudice is disappearing, and step by step with its going, go the excuses for prejudice. Jew and Gentile are both escaping from a vicious circle—one from self-imposed isolation and the other from imposing the conditions that compel isolation. It is not impossible that when the five-hundredth anniversary of Jacob Barsimson's arrival rolls around, the distinction of Jew and Gentile will have been forgotten. Israel has preserved her identity despite servitude and persecution; will she be able to continue separate in the presence of liberty and equality? As Leroy Beaulieu puts it: "Israel runs the risk of being the victim of the Jew's enfranchisement and of perishing in his victory."

THE JEW IN AMERICAN LIFE

From the *New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Jews to trade in and with the colony of the New Netherlands is being made the occasion of a notable celebration. The whole record of Jewish set-

tlement in this country is one which redounds no less to the credit of the Jews themselves than to that of the people who freely gave them that equality of opportunity which they were long denied throughout most of the world calling itself Christian. It is a trite saying that every country has the kind of Jew it deserves, but it is one, none the less, full of suggestion. For, while the plastic character of the Jew can adapt itself to almost any environment, and the indomitable energy of the Jew can successfully assert itself under the least favorable conditions, it is in the air of freedom that the many-sided capacity of the Jew is seen in its highest development. In the beginnings of the foreign commerce of the country the Jews bore a distinguished part. In the Dutch West India Company they were large stockholders; while it was still New Amsterdam they were among the chief exporters and importers of this city; when Newport was a mart of trade they ranked as its foremost merchants; they were trading on the Delaware as early as 1655, and in the eighteenth century Jewish names stood high in the mercantile community of Philadelphia. With connections extending throughout the whole civilized world and able to command the facilities of credit on every exchange in Europe, the American Jew had, from the first, a large conception of trade and finance. His breadth of view, his foresight, and his enterprise were powerful factors in securing for the young republic the place it early took in international commerce. The finances of the colonial cause in the revolution were materially helped by Jewish assistance, as were those of the colony of New York a century

before. Public spirit was ever a characteristic of the Jew when he was permitted to demonstrate it, and the little band of Jewish settlers in New York at the end of the eighteenth century were identified with every enterprise, educational or philanthropic, that appealed to the sentiment of civic pride.

All through the history of this city the Jews have been foremost in good works. At the very beginning of the Jewish settlement in New York the condition was imposed that their poor should not become a public charge. This was faithfully observed by those who accepted it, as well as by their successors who were probably unaware of its existence. It has been the special distinction of the Jew in this country that, while contributing liberally to charitable and benevolent objects favored by his fellow-citizens of different race and faith, he asks from them nothing for the objects which appeal primarily to his own. Hospitals supported by Jewish contributions make no discrimination in regard to the patients they admit; schools and libraries maintained by Jewish beneficence are open to all who can derive any benefit from them. The acceptance of the responsibilities of citizenship by the Jews coming to these shores has been as prompt and earnest as the efforts to fit the newcomers for the discharge of the duties of freemen have been intelligent and unremitting. The Americanization of the Jewish immigrant is prosecuted with a degree of assiduity and thoroughness which commands admiration, and which forms a striking testimony to the generosity and patriotism of those who have already enjoyed the boon of our republican liberty. It would

be strange if the defects in character and conduct, generated by long centuries of grinding oppression in other lands, did not subsist after the Jew had escaped from bondage. But, unpromising as much of the raw material of recent Jewish immigration does appear, there is nothing more marvelous in all the history of human emancipation than the change made in a single generation, even where these people are herded together by the thousand in the tenements of this and other American cities. However bent and twisted under cruel persecution, persistent robbery, and bigoted denial of the primary rights of a human being, the Jewish character still retains enough of its native force and resiliency to leave no cause to despair of its symmetrical development under better conditions.

It would not be too much to claim that the Jews have enriched American life by their devotion to high ideals, either in the world of morals or of art. Generous patrons of all the arts that refine life they unquestionably are, and without them the standard of musical taste, in New York at least, would be far less high than it has become in the memory of this generation. With the acquisition of means they have always striven to surround themselves with beautiful objects, and their standard of physical comfort is uniformly high. But they have eagerly adopted the American measure of success in life—the possession of money—and in their methods of getting it have certainly been no more scrupulous than their neighbors. In the strength of their family ties they have upheld the best traditions of the earlier days of the republic, and

have added to the cohesion of the household something of their own. On American flightiness they have operated as a distinct corrective by their brilliant demonstration of how close is the association between business success and patient continuity of effort. Singleness of purpose is one of the best marked characteristics of the Jew, and less self-denying men who complain of the closeness of his competition would do well to give due consideration to what is after all the quality that makes him strong. The American Jew is already a type clearly distinguishable from that of any of his European brethren, and, as his evolution proceeds, he cannot fail to become further modified by his environment. Nor can the characteristic qualities of such a race—their strength under adversity, their tireless industry, and their ceaseless struggle to advance—fail to react on and modify in its turn the composite nation of which it is one of the most potent elements.

THE JEWS IN AMERICA

From the *New York Times*

A merchant in the City of New York may any day buy and sell commodities almost simultaneously in his own store, in Para, in Manchester or Liverpool, in Odessa, and in Canton and Tokio. He will find that the merchants of these cities do business very much as he does business; they will understand his cabled advices and act on them intelligently, just as he would

act on theirs. The modern commercial idea appears to be fluid and assimilative—it has overspread the world. Commercially the nations have become one in thought and purpose. They understand each other. Why should modern political ideas be less fluid than commercial ideas? Manifestly the political idea does not so readily overspread the world, for to-day while the Jews of the United States are celebrating an anniversary which rounds out for them two hundred and fifty years of entire freedom and equality before the law, the Jews of Russia, always persecuted, always oppressed, never privileged beyond the narrowest limits, are being savagely done to death by mobs with which the police and the authorities are almost openly in sympathy. Russia has more Jews than any other nation, and beyond any other nation she has treated them with inhuman disregard of man's natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In this country the Government has treated the Jew as it has treated everybody else, imposing no disabilities, restrictions, or abridgments of privilege. The contrast between the treatment and the condition of the Jew in Russia and the Jew in America is as striking as it is instructive.

That our treatment of the Jew has been right and wise and sound, not merely from the Jew's point of view, but from the point of view of the Government and the nation, is so abundantly attested that none would be so foolish as to dispute it. He has paid for the privileges he enjoys and for the respect in which he is held by contributing his full share to the prosperity and the greatness of the nation. In the pro-

fessions, in the trades, in manufactures, in finance, in politics, in public life, on the bench, in both branches of Congress, and in State legislatures, he has held his place and done his work like other Americans. If we had been so narrow and bigoted and foolish as to decree that no Jew should hold public office, engage in any save certain specified trades, or have his home outside of designated pales, we should have deprived ourselves of that share of the national wealth which he has had the privilege and made it his duty to create, and of his contribution to the country's welfare. Russia has so deprived herself, and of that and other follies she is now reaping the consequences.

Our most notable contributions to the political ideas and practices of the world, we suppose, are the use of straightforward methods and the application of the "golden rule" in diplomacy, a policy of which our neutrality laws were an early fruit, and our granting to every citizen freedom of religion and perfect equality before the law. As we have never known any other practice or policy, the converse proposition is to the American mind well-nigh unthinkable. Macaulay pointed out seventy-five years ago that the exclusion of Jews from the House of Commons was altogether illogical, and must be held absurd so long as Jews were allowed to carry on business and accumulate wealth, for, as everybody knew, wealth was power. "A congress of sovereigns," he said, "may be forced to summon the Jews to their assistance. The scrawl of a Jew on the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal word of three kings or the national faith of three new American republics." When

you once begin to abridge the privileges of race, there is no stopping place short of absolute exclusion from the country, and that even in 1830 no Englishman was prepared to advocate. The fathers of this republic and those who went before the fathers, seem to have had what Russia has plainly lacked, the capacity of profiting by the experience of others. Mohammed, thirteen hundred years ago, discovered very early in his career as a "divinely appointed" prophet that his design to include all the Jews of Arabia in the bond of his new faith was futile, because the religion of the Jew was by its very nature incapable of coalescing with any other religion. But he never found out that other truth, that the use of force against the patient and enduring Jewish race is a waste of power. Russia's lesson has been costly enough, but she does not yet, or at least her people do not, understand the sheer futility of oppression. The Americans seem to have known all about it from the beginning.

It was not pure altruism, it was not idealism, it was not alone sincere faith in the doctrine of equality that made the fathers resolve that there should be no distinction before the law between Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, or between native and foreigner so soon as the foreigner had declared his intention to become an American citizen. This policy has made Americans of the whole body of the population, for it is as plain as noonday that the quality of patriotism springs from a sense of being well governed. The Jews of America to-day celebrate their anniversary. But the country itself has profound cause of satisfac-

tion in the consciousness that it has made no mistake in its policy of permitting no distinction to be set up for reasons of race and blood.

THE JEWS IN AMERICA

From the *Philadelphia Record*

There is evidence that the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first landing of Jews in America, Thanksgiving week, and especially on Thanksgiving Day, will be the most notable feature of this year's holiday. For the first two hundred years after the arrival at New Amsterdam of a harried remnant of twenty-three refugees, expelled in 1655 by the Portuguese from Brazil, the immigration of Jews to the United States was very meager. It has only been in the last fifty years that the proportion of arriving Jews has become a really formidable movement.

From the beginning, however, the Jews have been good and patriotic citizens. They had their representatives in the ranks of the Revolutionary Army and they have furnished more than their proportionate quota to the armies of the Union in every war in which the country has been engaged. They have come to us from all parts of the civilized world, but their loyalty to the flag has never been questioned. They have advanced with the advance of the country, and have attained eminence in all the walks of life, political, professional, commercial, and industrial. There are

few positions in our public service to which they have not attained and none to which they may not reasonably aspire.

The effect of our liberal institutions upon the Jewish race has been undoubtedly beneficent. Liberty has done for them what the hard repression and persecution of other nations has failed to accomplish. They are in the undoubted process of an unreserved assimilation into the citizenship of the country. They have conquered to a great extent their own prejudices and ours.

The celebration of their two hundred and fiftieth anniversary Thanksgiving week will give unusual interest to the national holiday.

THE JEWS IN AMERICA

From the *Washington Star*

In 1655 the bark *St. Catarina* entered New York harbor bearing a little company of Jewish colonists, seeking religious and political liberty in the New World. To-day has been set apart for the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the event, which is of significance in the history of the United States, and of vital consequence in the records of the Jewish people of all lands.

There are now fully 1,200,000 Jews in the United States, scattered through all sections, engaged in all lines of business, prospering and contributing to the wealth and advancement of the nation in all directions.

They are highly esteemed citizens, law-abiding, progressive, intelligent. They have earned the respect of all classes and the members of all religions. They have found here a broad tolerance for their views and ceremonies and they have given abundant evidence of their appreciation of this spirit, which lies at the bottom of the true Americanism.

The Jews in America have participated in all the national movements which have gone to the upbuilding of the republic, its maintenance, and its strengthening. They have been soldiers when the call came. In the Revolution they fought with colonists of different faiths, striving patriotically, and freely sacrificing their lives to the end that here in the West might come into being a nation of true liberty of thought and action. They participated in the War for the Preservation of the Union. They have always responded to the summons for help. In times of great calamity they have given generously of their wealth for the succoring of the afflicted. In their own lines they have built up great charitable works. They have eagerly availed themselves of the public-school facilities and have striven faithfully to fit themselves for citizenship.

Since this first incoming of the Jews there has been a steadily increasing stream from all parts of the world. The persecuted of European countries have fled hither, certain to find at least an opportunity to worship according to the ancient faith of their fathers, assured of an equal opportunity before the law. Even now the hearts of tens of thousands of afflicted Jews in Russia are yearning for the chance

to come to the United States, from which is flowing a golden stream of alms for their relief in the hour of their great distress.

These good citizens of to-day and the past have greatly contributed to the strength of the republic, and in this day of celebration there should be a hearty appreciation of this fact.

FROM REV. DR. LYMAN ABBOTT

Editor of *The Outlook*

In my judgment, the American people owe more to the ancient Hebrews than to any other ancient people. More than to either the Greeks or the Romans, because to the Hebrews we owe our ethical and spiritual ideas; from them have come to us:

Our conception of one God, out of which has grown our belief in the unity of the world, both of matter and of mind.

Our belief that He is a righteous God and demands righteousness of His children and demands nothing else; out of which has grown our belief that religion has to do with this present life and is not merely a preparation for another life.

Our belief that God made man in His own image; out of which has grown the modern faith in the brotherhood of man, although that faith was not entertained by the ancient Hebrews and probably could not have been entertained by them in the then state of spiritual development.

Our belief that God has made the world subservient to man, to be His servant, not His master—a belief which has put an end to all deification of nature and is the germ of faith out of which all scientific development has issued.

Our belief in the sovereignty of God, which, translated in the terms of human experience, means the sovereignty of conscience—a faith which is absolutely inconsistent with all forms of despotism, and is the parent of all permanent free institutions.

I hope the time will come when the laws and literature of the ancient Hebrews will be studied in all of our schools as now are studied the laws and literature of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and when it will be universally recognized that no man ignorant of the laws and literature of the ancient Hebrews is a well-educated man.

II

CORRESPONDENCE

ENGLAND TO AMERICA

Letter from Israel Abrahams, Esq., President of the Jewish Historical Society of England

CAMBRIDGE, *October* 17, 1905.

MAX J. KOHLER, ESQ., *Honorary Secretary.*

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Jewish Historical Society of England, I write to offer to your committee our very cordial congratulations on your two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration. Marvelous, indeed, has been the growth of the American Jewish community in numbers and material prosperity. But more remarkable still has been its consistent advance in all those noble enterprises which the world has the right to expect from Jews. Young as compared with the ancient history of the Jewish people, your community takes the lead of older bodies in Jewish thought and philanthropy—championing the cause of the persecuted abroad, promoting all good causes at home.

On December 3d and 4th we, too, are celebrating a two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The Whitehall Conference may not have led to precise legal results of much moment, but it was a unique testimony to the change which was coming over the world. Oliver Cromwell and Manasseh ben Israel—Puritan and Jew—then stood side by side as immortal cham-

pions of toleration and justice. Most of us in England are content and proud to date from that significant incident the restoration of the Anglo-Jewish community after the expulsion in 1290. To us, as to you, the year 1655 is a great and memorable year, and by a happy coincidence we are associated with you in the celebration of events honorable alike to the Christianity and to the Judaism of the seventeenth century.

More recent events have, except in England and America, been less in harmony with the promise of the seventeenth and with the fulfillment of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The Jews of many lands have to fight over again some part of the old battle for justice. But is it nothing that we do occupy, *as Jews*, the position of protagonists in so great a cause? This struggle for the right—enforced upon us, yet willingly endured—is an honor, not a detriment. It keeps us virile; it makes us earnest; it prevents us from sinking into that security which is mortals' chiefest enemy. We justify ourselves by bearing ourselves as men in this fight for justice.

To you, as to us, the fight appeals with peculiar fascination. It marks out for us a duty, but it responds to an even higher instinct. We, as you, know what it means to be free citizens of a free state. *Noblesse oblige*. Our pride in what we possess makes us eager to give to others a share. We are clearly marked out as the missionaries of freedom. To you, as to us, is committed the cause of Judaism. We rejoice to see you striding even beyond us in that

unselfish impulse toward freeing others which is the crown of freedom personally enjoyed. In all this effort you will find us, I hope and believe, ready to second you. Whether it be in those more domestic matters which concern the local life of each Jewish community; whether it be the encouragement of Jewish learning, the maintenance of our common Jewish religion, and the revival of a true confidence in its ideals and practical love for its discipline; whether it be those wider schemes for the solace of the downtrodden and the enfranchisement of the oppressed, in all these things America will find England ready to join hands.

To tell you this was unnecessary, but to do it is a luxury not to be lost. It is the writer's last official act as president of the Jewish Historical Society of England. May these inadequate lines convey to you our good wishes. May you go from strength to strength; may the glory of your coming time excel even the glory of your past. Your celebration is, after all, an *English* celebration. Two hundred and fifty years ago America and England were one, nationally and politically. To-day they are one again in a union of hearts. We rejoice with you now in your joy, we shall be ready to work with you hereafter in all that must concern us both as sharers of the olden English polity, as joint inheritors of the still older and even more inspiring Jewish tradition.

Yours very truly,

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS.

The Executive Committee on the American Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration addressed the following letter to the Jewish Historical Society of England on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Whitehall Conference:

November 22, 1905.

PROF. DR. H. GOLLANCZ, *President of the Jewish Historical Society of England, London, England:*

DEAR SIR: At the last meeting of our Executive Committee our secretary presented the most cordial letter of congratulation forwarded on your behalf by Mr. Israel Abrahams as your presiding officer, upon our two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and it was unanimously resolved that this letter should form part of our "Anniversary Proceedings." We were deputed to thank your society most warmly for its hearty greetings, and to extend to you our sincere congratulations, in return, upon the celebration which you will hold on December 3d and 4th, of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Whitehall Conference. In discharging this pleasurable duty, we beg leave to add that your kind message was all the more welcome, because we in America have long since learned to admire the distinguished spokesman who phrased your felicitous greetings for you, the author of "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," which has long been a classic in our midst.

We are proud to learn that you are willing to claim our celebration as, "after all, an English celebration." While both you and we must turn to Holland, the "Holy Land of Modern Europe," in the course of our respective celebrations, to trace the impetus from which arose the events which we are celebrating, we, as well as you, cannot fail to appreciate that it was the dearly cherished "British Constitution" and the beloved "English Common Law," which we still share with you, and their spirit, that made possible that Jewish development in our respective countries which we both to-day love to emphasize, and which enabled us both to outpace our Dutch coreligionists in strength and success, intellectual and material. You, like ourselves, have preferred to select, as the particular occasion for to-day's celebration, not the stray, isolated, possibly accidental first arrival of a Jewish settler, but the formal, official, grant or declaration which assured to the Jewish settler equality before the law. These resulted, with you as with us, in the establishment of Jewish citizenship in our respective lands, and advanced us immeasurably over and above the status of "*Schutzjuden*," whose rights were dependent upon the mere whim and caprice of each successive ruler.

We rejoice that you have so happily chosen as the occasion of your celebration the convening of the Whitehall Conference, not merely because of its happy illustration of the fact you point out, that "it was unique testimony to the change which was coming over the world," "Oliver Cromwell and Manasseh ben Israel—Puritan and Jew—then stood side

by side as immortal champions of toleration and justice"—names which we in America also hold in honored memory—but also for the narrower reason that we, as well as you, found our rights builded on adamantine rock, and not on mere sand, when English judges solemnly declared at Whitehall that "there was no law which forbade the Jews' return into England." Lawyers may even to-day be inclined to question the correctness of this exposition of the English common law as transmitted from the "Dark Ages," but Mr. Abrahams has given us a conclusive justification and explanation of the holding, in saying that it was "testimony to the change which was coming over the world," a repudiation of Middle-Age bigotry and hateful, unreasonable discrimination. The full portent of the declaration may not have been recognized at the time, and Manasseh ben Israel may have gone to his grave, heartbroken at his failure to secure an affirmative grant, which even he was quite ready to accept with expressed limitations and restrictions, but he "builded better than he knew," and could safely leave the matter to an all-wise Providence! Starting with the declaration that the laws did not forbid Jewish settlement on English soil, neither at home nor abroad, Jewish disabilities disappeared one after the other, sometimes quicker and with less effort on our newer soil than at home. But you secured for us, almost immediately after the readmission, without any new legislative fiat, the holding which we as well as you profited by, that Jews were competent witnesses, entitled to equal credit with the non-Jew, and, as a result, the whole fabric of the "*Oath More Ju-*

daico " (the discriminative Jewish oath) disappeared on both sides of the Atlantic, and your Council for the Plantations solemnly decreed, in 1672, in the case of a New York resident, Rabba Couty, that Jewish freemen on British soil were not " aliens " within the meaning of your Navigation Laws, and your Foreign Office solemnly asserted in 1676, in the case of some Jews from Surinam, that British Jews settled in the colonies are British subjects, entitled to British protection against attempts of a foreign government to detain them involuntarily. But this is no place to elaborate upon incidents we commemorate in common, some of which one of your past-presidents has set forth so happily in his paper on " American Elements in the Resettlement," and which we of the American Jewish Historical Society also love to descant upon. Let it suffice to say that we dearly cherish, not merely the Jewish traditions and ties which we have in common, but also those currents and streams of a common development which we in America love to give expression to when we still call England " Our Mother Country," and which make our two nations allies in seeking the maintenance of international peace and universal good will.

And it is particularly gratifying for us to feel that we Jews, scattered among all the nations of the world, but cherishing our common ties and traditions while at the same time being loyal patriots, have been in the past, and may confidently hope for the future to be, most potent factors in bringing about universal " peace upon earth and good will among men," so that, in the happy language of the author of the

" Spectator," writing already in 1712, Jews " are indeed so disseminated through all of the trading parts of the world that they have become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which, though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together."

Accept, then, on our behalf our most heartfelt good wishes on your celebration, and congratulations upon the marvelous achievements of your two-hundred-and-fifty year history! When we consider only a few of the many brilliant stars whose names illumine your history, we cannot but wonder at the marvelously high degree in which genius has flourished in your midst, compared with the small Jewish population from which it has developed. Permit us, then, to repeat your own happily phrased good wishes, drawn from our common inheritance: " May you go from strength to strength; may the glory of your coming time excel even the glory of your past!" And though both your celebration and ours are, most unhappily, tinged with an unanticipated hue by the terrible sufferings that have suddenly been inflicted upon our brethren in Russia, which we are seeking, as far as may be, to alleviate in common, yet these celebrations enable us to rejoice all the more by contrast, that our " lines have fallen in pleasant places," and to express from the bottom of our hearts our gratitude to our respective countries for granting us absolute equality before the law; and we may have

the further consciousness, in proudly chronicling our past, that we may thereby afford a much-needed object-lesson to countries less imbued with the modern spirit, of the appreciation of our respective fellow-citizens and leaders of the admirable consequences that have flowed from the granting of the great charters of liberty you and we are now commemorating.

We are, very truly yours,

JACOB H. SCHIFF, *Chairman.*

MAX J. KOHLER, *Honorary Secretary.*

III

(From a pamphlet entitled "Notes Relating to the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States," distributed by the Executive Committee some weeks before the celebration.)

INTRODUCTION

Two hundred and fifty years having elapsed since the first settlement of the Jews in the United States, by common accord of those interested in the Jewish people, it has been deemed fitting to celebrate and commemorate this important anniversary.

At a meeting held in the vestry rooms of Shearith Israel Congregation, New York, on April 9, 1905, which was largely attended, an Executive Committee was appointed to take charge of the celebration, with power to appoint a General Committee to coöperate Such a committee has been appointed, with representatives in every State and Territory, and in most of the important cities of the Union.

It is an essential feature of the programme adopted by the Executive Committee that every Jewish congregation in the United States is to be requested to hold appropriate services on the Saturday (November 25th) preceding the National Thanksgiving Day, 1905, and that every Jewish Sabbath school shall be urged to hold similar services on the Sunday (November 26th) preceding Thanksgiving Day, to the end

that the significance of the event which is to be celebrated shall be thoroughly impressed upon every American Jew.

Believing that this object can be best subserved by a thorough understanding, based on accurate information, as to the part which the Jews have played in the development of this nation from the earliest days, the Executive Committee has collated a number of historical facts, which have a direct bearing on American Jewish history, conjoined with a bibliography which will enable those desirous of pursuing further investigations to become possessed of the history, little known but interesting, of the Jewish pioneer. Coupled with these notes, the committee has, through the courtesy of the Funk & Wagnalls Company, been enabled to reprint from the "Jewish Encyclopedia," published by that company, a comprehensive article on "America," and a section of another article on "New York" (the former as a separate pamphlet), both of which are replete with valuable information.

It has also been considered appropriate to reprint from *The American Hebrew* an address delivered on April 29, 1905, before "The Judaeans," as exemplifying the point of view from which this celebration is to be approached, and to point the moral, that whilst every American Jew is profoundly grateful for the liberties which he enjoys, in common with all other citizens, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, he does not regard those blessings as a mere gift from others, but as of right his, because his ancestors were among the early settlers and

pioneers of this country; were active in its development; fought for its independence and preservation; and because, to the full extent of his power, he has contributed to its greatness.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

NOTES

I

The year 1655 stands forth as a convenient landmark for celebration of Jewish settlement in the United States by reason of the issuance of a "Grant of Privileges," on April 26, 1655, to the Jews of New Amsterdam by the Dutch West India Company. This grant of privileges was issued in answer to remonstrances from Governor Stuyvesant.

(*Daly's "Settlement of the Jews in North America," p. 9, note, copied from "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," vol. xiv, p. 315; also, "Publications American Jewish Hist. Society," vi, p. 85.*)

II

There were stray Jewish arrivals within the present limits of the United States before the party of twenty-three arrived at New Amsterdam about September 1, 1654, concerning whom, in particular, these instructions were issued, but they do not seem to have arrived

in considerable numbers nor under any express authorization.

(*See article "America," by Dr. Cyrus Adler, in Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. i.*)

There were also very extensive early Jewish settlements in South America long before this period, though made originally by "Maranos" (secret Jews, living ostensibly as Catholics, owing to the laws against Jewish residence), but these settlements had now (1655) practically ceased to exist.

(*See, for particulars as to "Participation of Jews in the Discovery and Early Settlement of South America," besides the article "America" above referred to, Jewish Encyclopedia articles, "America, The Discovery of" (by Dr. M. Kayserling), "United States" (by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald and J. D. Eisenstein), "Brazil" (by L. Hühner), "Bahia" (by L. Hühner), "Recife" (by L. Hühner), "South and Central America" (by Joseph Jacobs and Elkan N. Adler), "Chile" (by Rev. George A. Kohut), "Cuba" (by Max J. Kohler), "Curacao" (by Dr. H. Friedenwald), "Barbados" (by Dr. H. Friedenwald), and "Jamaica" (by Max J. Kohler); also Dr. M. Kayserling's "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries," translated by Dr. Charles Gross; "The Colonization of America by the*

Jews," by Dr. M. Kayserling (Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Society ii); "Columbus in Jewish Literature," by Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil (Id. ii); "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish Writers of America," by Dr. M. Kayserling (Id. iii); "Early Jewish Literature in America," by Rev. Geo. A. Kohut (Id. iii); "Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in America," by Dr. Cyrus Adler (Id. iv); "Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America," by Rev. Geo. A. Kohut (Id. iv); "Isaac Aboab, the first Jewish Author in America," by Dr. M. Kayserling (Id. v); "Trial of Gabriel de Granada, by the Inquisition in Mexico 1642-1645," translated by David Ferguson and edited by Dr. Cyrus Adler (Id. vii); "The Inquisition in Peru," by Elkan N. Adler (Id. xii); Castelar's "Life of Columbus" (see Jewish references extracted in "Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Society, viii, pp. 2-5, x, 159-163); Daly's "Settlement of the Jews in North America" (pp. xi-xviii); Magnus's "Outlines of Jewish History" (Jew. Pub. Society edition, pp. 334-340); Markens: "The Hebrews in America.")

The fact is to be noted that Jews not only accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, but that the Maranos, Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, were among his chief patrons and largely provided the funds for his voyage. As Prof. Herbert B.

Adams (Johns Hopkins Studies, x, p. 486) has well said, in summarizing Dr. Kayserling's investigations, "not jewels but Jews were the real financial basis for the first expedition of Columbus." Accordingly, it is not strange that Columbus's first accounts of his discovery were in the form of letters addressed by him to Santangel and Sanchez.

III

The importance of this Dutch Grant of Leave of Settlement lies largely in the fact that at this time (1655) nearly all of Western Europe was closed to the Jews. Spain had expelled them in 1492, Portugal following her example soon after, and the Inquisition was engaged in enforcing these decrees of expulsion. In England the decree of expulsion of King Edward I of July 18, 1290, was deemed to be still in force, though Menasseh ben Israel presented his "Humble Address" to Cromwell in September of this very year, 1655, and the "Whitehall Conference" which Cromwell convened in December, 1655, resolved that there was nothing in the English laws against the Jews residing in England, though nothing definite came for the time being of plans for an affirmative grant of leave of settlement.

(*See Lucien Wolf: "Menasseh ben Israel and His Mission to Oliver Cromwell," and Joseph Jacobs' article "England" in "Jewish Encyclopedia."*)

Similarly, in France, edicts of exclusion were periodically in force against the Jews (see article "France" in the "Jewish Encyclopedia"), as also

in many sections of Germany. The Netherlands alone, of Western Europe, recognized Jewish rights, after they had succeeded in wresting their own liberties, civil and religious, from Spanish despotism, and, beginning about 1593, began to welcome Jewish settlement in various localities [Graetz: "History of the Jews" (Eng. transl., vol. iv, p. 650 *et seq.*), and Jew. Ency. article "Netherlands"], particularly in Amsterdam, whose constituent "chamber" of the Dutch West India Company had charge of the colonial possessions in Brazil and New Netherlands. The exceptional position of Amsterdam in this respect, at practically the same time that it afforded a haven of rest to the persecuted Puritans, is aptly characterized by Judge Daly in his "Settlement of the Jews in North America" (p. 3) as follows:

"Amsterdam presented the spectacle of a city where all religions were tolerated, and where men of all shades of political opinion found themselves secure in their persons and property. By a writer of that day it was stigmatized as 'a common harbor of all opinions and of all heresies.' By another, in the figurative language then in fashion, 'as a cage of unclean birds,' and even Andrew Marvel, the friend of Milton and the incorruptible patriot, wrote a derisive poem upon Holland, in which Amsterdam was described with its mixed population of 'Turk, Christian, Pagan, Jew,' its 'bank of conscience,' where 'all opinions found credit and exchange,' closing his poem with a line which he certainly meant in no spirit of compliment:

'The universal church is only there.'"

Compare Jewish experiences in early Maryland:

(*Prof. J. H. Hollander: "Some Unpublished Material Relating to Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo"* (*Pub. i, 25 et seq.*), *and "Civil Status of Jews in Maryland, 1634-1776,"* (*Pub. ii, 33 et seq.*)

Contrast, however, such utterances as Roger Williams', specifically demanding Jewish emancipation,

(*Oscar S. Straus: "Life of Roger Williams"* (*pp. 110, 111*), *quoted also in M. J. Kohler: "The Jews in Newport"* (*Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Society, vi, 65.*)

and also those of a few other of Cromwell's contemporaries (Wolf: "Menasseh ben Israel," p. xviii, *et seq.*), including John Milton, in contradistinction to those of such types of contemporary American Puritanism as Cotton Mather, who in his "Magnalia" characterized Roger Williams' settlement at Newport, where Jews were welcomed soon after 1655, for this very reason as "the common receptacle of the convicts of Jerusalem and the outcasts of the land" (quoted in Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Society vi., 65-6). On the general subject of Dutch liberality in this respect, see Daly's "Settlement" Introduction, p. xiv and p. 4; "Publications" Am. Jew. Hist. Society vi, 81 *et seq.* "Civil Status of the Jews in Colonial New York" and Douglass Campbell: "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America").

On America's contributions to civilization as pio-

neer in establishing religious liberty, with particular reference to the Jews, see "Phases in the History of Religious Liberty in America, with Special Reference to the Jews," by M. J. Kohler, in "Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Society, xi, 53 *et seq.*, quoting David Dudley Field ("American Progress in Jurisprudence" in the *American Law Review*, vol. xxvii, p. 641, [1893]) and Judge Simeon E. Baldwin ("Modern Political Institutions," pp. 15-25, 246), note p. 59; Oscar S. Straus: "Religious Liberty in the United States" and also his "Origin of Republican Form of Government in the United States of America," second edition, with introductory essay by Emile de Laveleye, translated from the French edition. See this work also for development of the theory of American indebtedness to the Hebrew for the origin of Republican form of government.

IV

The pronounced success and prosperity of the Jews in Holland is indicated in the works already cited and the bibliographies forming a part of the several Jewish Encyclopedia articles.

(*Compare article "Commerce," by Joseph Jacobs in "Jewish Encyclopedia," Herzfeld's "Handelsgeschichte der Juden," Roscher: "Die Juden im Mittelalter" (in "Ansichten der Volkswirthschaft," ii, 321 et seq.), M. J. Kohler: "Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce" (in Pub. Am. Jew. Hist.*

Society, x, p. 47), and Israel Zangwill: "What Have the Hebrews Accomplished?" "Success," May, 1902.)

Their activities in the Dutch West India Company, as heavy stockholders and directors, and as influential in directing its fortunes from the start, are matters of record.

(Grant of privileges of April 26, 1655, quoted above; Daly: "Settlement of the Jews in North America," pp. xv-xvii, 5, 9; article on "Netherlands" in "Jewish Encyclopedia," and works cited in bibliographical note thereto.)

V

The circumstances under which this "Grant of Privileges" was issued, and the evolution of the Jewish community of New York, the oldest, and, today, by far the largest within the present limits of the United States, are concisely outlined in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," article "New York" (by Max J. Kohler), where the subject is treated more fully than was possible in the article "America."

VI

For further particulars concerning the history of the Jews in the United States see the various works cited in the bibliographies of the articles, "America" and "New York," in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," as also the various articles under the names of the various States and large cities, as well as the

cross references; also the twelve volumes of the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

VII

For correspondence between Jews of America and our early Presidents, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, see "Publications" Am. Jew. Hist. Society iii, 87-101; iv, 219-222, xi, 63, 66, 68; Compare Simon Wolf: "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen," especially pp. 53-61, 488-522.

VIII

During the week including April 26, 1905, the "Judaean" Club, of New York, celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Jewish settlement in America at the Hotel Savoy, and the introductory address of a series of addresses, delivered by Louis Marshall, Esq., emphasized the purposes of the celebration. It was printed in *The American Hebrew* of May 5, 1905, and in the *Menorah Monthly*, May, 1905.

IV

ORDER OF SERVICE FOR USE ON THE SABBATH BEFORE THANKSGIVING DAY, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIVE, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

PREPARED BY A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF REV. DR. H. PEREIRA MENDES (Chairman), REV. DR. M. H. HARRIS, REV. DR. PHILIP KLEIN, REV. DR. K. KOHLER, DR. S. SCHECHTER, REV. DR. SAMUEL SCHULMAN and REV. DR. JOSEPH SILVERMAN

ORDER OF SERVICE

(*To be recited before the return of the Scroll of the Law to the Ark*)

1. HYMN.

(*To be chosen by the Congregation*)

2. PSALM CVII.

(*To be read in responses by the Minister and the Congregation*)

3. PSALM CXVIII. VERSES 1-24.

(*To be chanted by the Reader and Choir*)

4. PRAYER.

O Lord, our God, God of our fathers, Ruler of nations, we worship Thee and praise Thy name for Thy

mercy and for Thy truth. On this day of our rejoicing we will make mention of Thy loving kindness according to all that Thou hast bestowed on us and we will proclaim Thy great goodness toward the house of Israel. For Thou didst say, Surely they are My people, children that will not deal falsely; so Thou hast been our Savior.

Throughout the past ages Thou hast carried Israel as on eagles' wings. From the bondage of Egypt, through the trials of the wilderness, Thou didst bring us and didst plant us in the land which Thou didst choose. In the sorrows of Babylon, Thy love and pity redeemed us; and when dispersed in every land, Thy Divine presence accompanied us in every affliction. Yea, when we passed through the waters, Thou wast with us, and through the rivers, they did not overflow us; when we walked through fire, we were not burned. From nation to nation Thou didst lead us, until the hand of the oppressor was weakened and the day of human rights began to dawn. Wherever we found a resting place, and built Thee a sanctuary, Thou didst dwell in our midst, and cleaving unto Thee, O Lord, we are alive this day.

We thank Thee that Thou hast sustained us unto this day, and that in the fullness of Thy mercy Thou hast vouchsafed to us of the seed of Israel a soil on which to grow strong in freedom and in fidelity to Thy truth. Thou hast opened unto us this blessed haven of our beloved land. Everlasting God, in whose eyes a thousand years are as yesterday which is past and as a watch of the night, we lift up our hearts in gratitude to Thee, in that two hundred and

fifty years ago Thou didst guide a little band of Israel's children who, seeking freedom to worship Thee, found it in a land which, with Thy blessing, became a refuge of freedom and justice for the oppressed of all peoples. We thank Thee that our lot has fallen in pleasant places. Verily, O Lord God of Israel, Thou hast given rest unto Thy people, rest from our sorrow, and from the hard bondage wherein we were made to serve.

O Lord, look down from Thy holy habitation from heaven and bless this Republic. Preserve it in the liberty which has been proclaimed in the land, and in the righteousness which is its foundation. Bless it with prosperity and peace. May it advance from strength to strength and continue to be a refuge for all who seek its shelter. Imbue all its citizens with a spirit of loyalty to its ideals. May they be ever mindful that the blessings of liberty are safeguarded by obedience to law, and that the prosperity of the nation rests upon trust in Thy goodness and reverence for Thy commandments. Bless the President and his counselors, the judges, lawgivers, and executives of our country. Put forth upon them the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and the spirit of might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. May America become a light to all peoples, teaching the world that righteousness exalteth a nation.

Our Father in Heaven, Who lovest all nations, all men are Thy children. Thou dost apportion tasks to peoples according to their gifts of mind and heart. But all are revealing Thy marvelous plans for man-

kind. May the day speedily dawn when Thy kingdom will be established on earth, when nations shall learn war no more, when peace shall be the crowning reward of a world redeemed by justice, and all men shall know Thee, from the greatest unto the least. Then shall loving kindness and truth meet, righteousness and peace kiss each other, truth spring forth from earth and righteousness look down from heaven. May all hearts serve Thee with one accord and recognize that Thou art One and Thy Name is One. Amen.

5. RETURN OF THE SCROLL OF THE LAW TO THE ARK.

V

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Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States

BEING

The Address Delivered by

CYRUS ADLER, Ph.D.
President of the American Jewish Historical Society

AT THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING HELD

IN CINCINNATI, OHIO, FEBRUARY 27th, 1905.

1906

PREFACE.

The following address, delivered for the purpose of pointing out to the members of the Society the materials contained in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States bearing upon the history of the Jews in this country and in other countries, was not intended for publication in the form presented, since, owing to the restrictions of time, it dealt with but a fragmentary selection of a large mass of material which had been accumulated. Yielding, however, to the judgment of my colleagues, it is here presented practically in the form in which it was delivered. Fragmentary though this be, and unsatisfactory as the geographical arrangement may seem from the philosophical or historical point of view, there are yet valuable lessons to be derived from it. It shows that the humanitarian diplomacy of President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary John Hay is a legitimate descendant of the position taken by John Forsythe and General Wallace in Turkey; of the attitude of Lewis Cass and President Buchanan, in dealings with Switzerland; of the position of Mr. Evarts and Mr. Blaine in representations made to Morocco. When John A. Kasson, Minister to Austria, proposed in 1878, that this government should take steps toward securing the rights of the Jews in Roumania, none other than sentiments of humanity actuated him, since there were no American interests involved and the rights of no American citizens were being abridged. The famous Roumanian note of 1902, so far from being an innovation as it was then considered, was but a natural successor of the

representations of Mr. Kasson made nearly thirty years before as were likewise the instructions given by President Roosevelt to the American Ambassador at Rome, Mr. Henry White, who represented this government at the recent Conference held at Algeciras.

In our correspondence with Russia from 1880 on, William M. Evarts, John W. Foster, James G. Blaine, A. A. Adee, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and again President Roosevelt and Mr. Hay have reiterated the right of this government to approach Russia, not only in behalf of American citizens of the Jewish faith but to use their good offices to ameliorate the conditions of the persecuted subjects of the Czar of Russia. This statement does not take into account the sentiment of our country as represented in party platforms or even in the more solemn expression employed by Harrison and other Presidents in their messages to Congress, nor the almost unanimous voice of the American people as expressed in public meetings in 1882 and 1891, or more recently after the Kishineff massacre. It is not only the firm view of our public opinion but almost the settled policy of our Department of State that the government and people of the United States have a right to speak to the rulers of other States, where oppression or persecution is permitted, solely upon the grounds of humanity and without references to the economic or political rights of this country or of its citizens.

If the reader of these pages, in addition to having readily at hand some facts of interest to Jews in America, shall acquire but a slight insight into the really noble policy presented by the United States in its dealings with foreign nations, the writer will feel that the numerous shortcomings in the address will be more than atoned for.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Dr. Cyrus Adler.

To the Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is gratifying to the Officers and Council of the Society to see the interest which your community takes in its work. Established in New York in 1892, drawing its membership to a very great degree from the Atlantic seaboard and concerning itself to a large extent with the history of the settlement of Jews in South and Central America, the West Indies, and the original States forming the Union, it was but natural that our meetings should have been confined to the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

Your own community has for a long time presented a notable exception among the newer States in the interest shown in the history of its Jewish pioneers. The first and second volumes of the *Occident,* edited and published by Isaac Leeser at Philadelphia, in the years 1843 and 1844, contained a series of articles by Joseph Jonas on the Jews of Ohio, which have furnished invaluable material for all subsequent writers. More recently, the Rev. Dr. David Philipson, a valued member of the Council of this Society, has been devoting himself to further elucidating the history of the Jews of your State. I cannot forbear mentioning the name of one who lived long in your midst, Jacob Ezekiel, who made valuable contributions to the publications of our Society, although they did not deal specifically with Ohio.

When, accordingly, an invitation was received by this So-

ciety last year to hold its session in your city, the only hesitation which the Council had was as to whether any considerable number of our members could afford the time for the journey here. I am sorry to say that not as many as we might have wished have been able to do so, but, nevertheless, I feel that their absence is more than made good by the accessions to our ranks from your city and by the interest to which your presence testifies.

The President's Address has been in the past years, since the present incumbent succeeded the Honorable Oscar S. Straus, a brief one, more or less devoted to the business of the Society or the larger interests with which it might be concerned, and the evening meeting was given up to the reading of papers by members. But this year, probably to your regret, I am going to depart from the custom because a theme has forced itself upon my attention which cannot be treated in a few words.

For weal or for woe, the situation of the Jews in various countries of the world has from time to time entered into the realms of diplomacy and even we in this country, far above the most liberal toleration, standing upon the plane of equal rights before the laws, have been made to feel that the local conditions of Jews in other countries, affecting primarily the internal affairs of those countries, nevertheless entered the sphere of foreign relations and placed a bar upon our enjoyment of the fullest measure of the rights of the American citizen. Much has been said and written on these subjects in this country during the past twenty or twenty-five years and what I have to tell you will probably be an old story to those of you who have kept yourselves fully conversant with public affairs. Nevertheless, I do not know that anyone has collected from all sources, printed and unprinted, the dispatches sent by this Government abroad, relating to Jews. To do this seemed to be a large task and yet I felt that both in the interest of the Society and from a practical point of view, it was necessary that this information should be got together so that

it might be viewed consecutively with the idea of fully comprehending the policy of our government and the result or lack of result which its efforts had met.

The entire published Diplomatic Correspondence was gone through, the Congressional Globe or Record for the years in which there were no separate publications of the Department of State were examined, all Public Documents which might directly or indirectly bear upon the Correspondence of the Department of State, all of the works on American Diplomacy, and whatever minor clues which might lead to finding dispatches were followed up. This being done, access was secured to the unpublished archives of the Department of State prior to 1860, those subsequent to 1860 being not yet available for historical purposes.[1] I am assured, however, by the Department that in the period between 1860 up to the present time, nothing of consequence relating to the Jews has been left unpublished, and that, in the main, the unpublished records would simply serve to furnish a multiplication of the details relating to the passport question in Russia or the heaping up of cases which would throw no new light either upon the contention of our Government or the position of Russia. I do not claim that the collection is exhaustive, and, no doubt, additions may be made to it yet, I yet feel that there has been brought together for the use of this Society and for historical students generally, a very interesting body of material upon a specific subject. Figures and statistics ought not to be considered of importance in historical research. But, as I could not carry my materials with me, I wish to say that the dispatches which have passed between the United States and other countries relating to the Jews make in bulk over 2000 quarto typewritten pages—surely if we measure by size alone, our Gov-

[1] I have to express my acknowledgements to the late Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Adee, and to Mr. Pendleton King, formerly Chief of the Bureau of Archives.

ernment cannot be accused of having at any time neglected the interests of its Jewish citizens, and a careful perusal of these dispatches would, I believe, convince anyone that we have, in nearly every case taken the right and the high stand in behalf of the fullest American citizenship. That the representations have not always been effective or that they sometimes have been presented in a way that enabled the foreign Government to return a plausible answer is in no wise to be taken as a reflection upon the high-minded intentions of our Presidents and of our Secretaries of State.

In the following pages, for the purpose of convenience, references to the dispatches and comment upon them are grouped under the respective countries to which they relate.

TURKEY.

Barring occasional scattering reference to Jews in connection with affairs in the Barbary States, the first representation made by the United States to any foreign government in which Jews were concerned was to the Ottoman Government in connection with the so-called Damascus affair, which it will be remembered, was a charge of ritual murder brought against the Jews of Damascus in 1840 at the instance of the French consul at Damascus with the advice of the monks of the Franciscan order. This resulted in terrible cruelties in the shape of the torture and death of innocent persons.

On August 14, 1840, John Forsyth, Secretary of State, addressed a dispatch on this subject to John Gliddon, the United States consul at Alexandria, Egypt, which, as the first of its kind, I give in full:[2]

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1840.

JOHN GLIDDON, ESQ., *United States Consul at Alexandria, Egypt.*

Sir.—In common with all civilized nations, the people of the

[2] "Persecution of the Jews in 1840," Ezekiel. *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 8, page 143.

United States have learned with horror, the atrocious crimes imputed to the Jews of Damascus, and the cruelties of which they have been the victims. The President fully participates in the public feeling, and he cannot refrain from expressing equal surprise and pain, that in this advanced age, such unnatural practices should be ascribed to any portion of the religious world, and such barbarous measures be resorted to, in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt; the offenses with which these unfortunate people are charged, resemble too much those, in less enlightened times, which were made the pretexts of fanatical persecution or mercenary extortion, to permit a doubt that they are equally unfounded.

The President has witnessed with the most lively satisfaction, the effort of several of the Christian Governments of Europe, to suppress or mitigate these horrors, and he has learned with no common gratification, of their partial success. He is moreover anxious that the active sympathy and generous interposition of the Government of the United States should not be withheld from so benevolent an object, and he has accordingly directed me to instruct you to employ, should the occasion arise, all those good offices and efforts which are compatible with discretion and your official character, to the end that justice and humanity may be extended to these persecuted people, whose cry of distress has reached our shores. I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,
JOHN FORSYTH,
Secretary of State.

It will be observed that in this, the first instance of action taken by our Government on behalf of Jews, there was no pretense of American citizenship, and nothing save the general right to intervene on behalf of justice and to alleviate human suffering was adduced by the President and the Secretary of State.

Though communications from distinguished Jewish citizens at New York, Richmond, and Philadelphia, were sent to the President, these in no wise affected the action of the Government which was taken prior to the receipt of any of the communications. The dispatch before cited and the communications which passed between Jewish citizens of the aforementioned cities and the Department of State have been pub-

lished by our Society, largely in the paper by Mr. Ezekiel, as well as a dispatch of Mr. Forsyth to David Porter, then our minister at Constantinople. There is, however, a brief series of dispatches, as yet unpublished, which passed between Mr. Porter and the Department, concluding with the text of the Firman granted by the Turkish Government. Mr. Porter writes, on October 17, 1840, in the course of his dispatch, "I shall be governed by the benevolent and philanthropic views of the President as communicated in your instructions."

I am rather inclined to lay stress upon these words since, as stated above, they indicate that at this time, sentiments of humanity were considered ample ground for interference on behalf of persons who had no direct or indirect claim upon our Government. The Firman, itself, is a full statement on the part of the Sultan of his absolute disbelief in the blood accusation and it was ordered to be delivered to the Judges of the Empire.

Nothing further occurred in connection with Turkey until 1867, when under date of April 19, Myer S. Isaacs, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, called the attention of Secretary Seward to the fact that in the recently organized government of Servia severe laws and a painfully proscriptive administration of them had rendered the condition of the Jewish population deplorable in the extreme. The Department was requested to forward instructions to the Minister of the United States at Constantinople to the end that he might investigate the subject and that if the occasion were deemed fitting, make suitable representations to the Servian government. The Department forwarded the letter of Mr. Isaacs to the Minister at Constantinople, Mr. Morris, instructing him to cause inquiries to be made at the earliest opportunity and report to the Department. His report dated Constantinople, May 31, 1867, is a most unsympathetic document. It is founded on the explanation of the political agent of Servia at Constantinople. It declares that the Jewish population of Servia is

but 1300, and recites charges of usury, of non-assimilation, and of lack of patriotism against the Jews.

On July 11, 1882, the late Gen. Lew Wallace, our Minister at Constantinople, addressed a note to Secretary Frelinghuysen in which he stated that as a consequence of the Jewish exodus from Russia, some of the refuges had reached Constantinople and were starving in the streets, and that his sympathy was excited in their behalf; that he had received a petition asking that his services be rendered unofficially to secure to Jews the privilege of colonizing in such districts of Syria as contained localities available for the purpose. At the instance of Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Alexander, Gen. Wallace states that he visited the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who informed him that the matter had been before the Council of Ministers who had decided that Jews from whatever parts could come and settle in Turkey, that they could settle on any unoccupied lands in Mesopotamia, in Syria, about Aleppo, or in the region of the Orontes River, that they could not establish themselves in Palestine, and that every colonist was bound to become an Ottoman subject. Gen. Wallace accompanied this dispatch with documents that had passed between him and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, ending it up with this phrase: "In conclusion, there is nothing to prevent all the Israelites on the earth from settling in Asiatic Turkey. They shall not settle in Palestine—that is the only prohibition;" a rather significant statement in view of the subsequent development of the Zionist movement. It should be remarked here, again, that the persons on whose behalf General Wallace visited the Minister of Foreign Affairs were not American citizens and his action must have been taken solely upon the grounds of humanity.

A note verbale from the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to Gen. Wallace of January 22, 1884, presents a cause of possible difficulty. The Minister asserts that a certain number of Russian subjects who left their country, about five years before, to live in Palestine had succeeded in having them-

selves admitted as American citizens. Such naturalization he declared could not be recognized by the Imperial Government as legitimate and valid. Gen. Wallace replied on January 24, 1884, regretting that the communication was not definite in its terms, that our consul at Jerusalem was instructed to protect those who had taken out their first papers and had renounced their allegiance to another Government or who had perfected their naturalization as citizens of the United States, but not to protect any who claimed to be American citizens without having taken out their first papers, moreover that "The United States have never admitted the right of a foreign Government to decide upon or nullify in any manner the franchise conferred under its naturalization laws." Gen. Wallace added that, "The consul was instructed to protect naturalized citizens, that he must exhaust the means usual of resort upon such occasions and, failing this, must close his consulate and come away, if possible bringing the threatened people with him." Under the same date Gen. Wallace sent to Secretary Frelinghuysen, a copy of this long dispatch, adding, "I have reason to believe that the movement on the part of the Sublime Porte has application to the little colony of naturalized American Jews who, when visiting Jerusalem, I found resident there, in number thirty-five to forty. They are mostly old men and quite poor, who have betaken themselves to Palestine as the most sacred of places, thinking that if they behave themselves and live orderly lives, they might be permitted to die and be quietly buried there. * * * Permit me to hope that my reply will meet your approval."

Another dispatch on this subject was sent by Gen. Wallace to Secretary Frelinghuysen on January 26. I cannot conclude this reference to the action taken by General Wallace without expressing a sense of gratitude at the deeply sympathetic attitude which this gifted author adopted towards our unfortunate co-religionists.

In 1887 the question of the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine again came up. The Governor of Jerusalem on

August 29, 1887, wrote to Mr. Henry Gillman, then consul at Jerusalem, calling his attention to the fact that Jews who had come to travel and for pilgrimage and who, under the law, were allowed to stay but one month, remained longer. This was reported to the Consular Office of the Department of State and referred by Secretary Bayard, under date of October 31, to Mr. Oscar S. Straus, then our Minister at Constantinople. On December 31, 1887, Mr. Gillman reported to Mr. Straus that whilst Jews belonging to other nationalities had been expelled from Jerusalem and Palestine, no American citizen had been expelled during his connection with the Consulate, that he had held the position that the United States could not consent to have expelled from Palestine any American citizen, and that a fundamental principle of our Government was involved, which prohibits a distinction being made between American citizens on account of their race or religion. In this dispatch Mr. Gillman reports that the Russian, German, and other Governments aided the Turkish authorities in the expulsion of Jews and that the resident Jews themselves were unfavorable to more Jews coming there since it tended to increase the price of living and added nothing to the wealth of the city. There follow, upon this subject, a dispatch from Mr. Straus to Mr. Bayard, and the reply of Mr. Bayard, both of which I desire to quote in full:

[*Mr. Straus to Mr. Bayard.*] [3]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
CONSTANTINOPLE, January 28, 1888.

Sir.—In answer to your instruction No. 51, of October 31, 1887, I have the honor to report:

Shortly after the receipt of your instruction, I called at the Porte and had an interview with the Grand Vizier on the subject in question. He informed me that a regulation had been communicated by the Porte to the Imperial authorities at Jerusalem to limit the stay of foreign Jews at Jerusalem to the period of

[3] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1559.

one month. At a second interview he further informed me that the council of ministers was about amending the regulation so as to make the period three months. He gave as a reason for such a regulation, that the spirit of religious fanaticism rose to such a high pitch at Jerusalem that at certain seasons of the year, during Easter, the Jews were compelled to remain within their houses to avoid coming in contact with the Christians, who would attack them and perhaps murder them.

The purpose of the regulation was to avoid the possibility of such conflicts.

Another reason was also given by the Grand Vizier as the cause of this regulation, namely, the report that had spread abroad that the Jews throughout the world intended to strengthen themselves in and around Jerusalem with a view, at some future time, of re-establishing their ancient kingdom there.

I explained as to the first contingency, that it could be avoided by a strong force of police. As to the second, the re-establishment of a Jewish kingdom, I informed his highness that if the Porte would make inquiry it could easily satisfy itself that no such purpose actuated the Jews throughout the world. I informed him also that so far as concerned American citizens naturalized or native, it is one of the fundamental principles of my Government to make no distinction as to its citizens based upon creed or race, and that, uniformly in its relation with foreign nations, it had emphatically denied their right to make such discriminations against American citizens. I quoted to him several passages from your correspondence and instructions bearing upon this principle, and referred to the ancient capitulations and the provisions of our treaty with the Ottoman Empire.

His Highness assured me should the authorities threaten to expel any American citizen he would give due weight to the foregoing consideration and give instructions accordingly.

Shortly thereafter the Right Honorable Sir William A. White, the British Ambassador, asked me what position my Government had taken in reference to discriminations made against its citizens who were of the Jewish faith. He said that he desired to know in view of several cases before him arising under the aforesaid regulation of the Porte. He stated that the foregoing principles fully coincided with his own sense of duty and convictions, and that he would be guided accordingly.

About the same time I sent a dispatch to our consul general here requesting him to instruct our consul at Jerusalem, Henry Gillman, Esq., to make report whether any American citizens had

been expelled or were threatened with expulsion; also to report such other facts relative to the subject as he might deem important. A copy of his dispatch in reply of December 31, 1887, I herewith enclose.

I have, etc.,

O. S. STRAUS.

[*Mr. Bayard to Mr. Straus.*] [4]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, February 21, 1888.

Sir.—I have received your dispatch No. 57 of the 28th ultimo, relative to the prohibition against foreign Jews settling in Jerusalem, and desire to approve your reported action in respect of American citizens of that faith residing there as discreet and proper.

I am, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

A few days later Mr. Bayard sent another extremely significant dispatch which was communicated by Mr. Straus to the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs with a very strong statement of the American position.

[*Mr. Bayard to Mr. Straus.*] [5]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, March 5, 1888.

Sir.—I transmit herewith for your information copy of a note addressed to me by Mavroyeni Bey on the 2d instant, and of my reply, both having relation to the treatment of foreign Jews resorting to Palestine.

These notes continue, and importantly enlighten, the subject to which my instruction No. 51, of 31st of October, 1887, and your report No. 57, of 28th January last, had reference.

It appears from Mavroyeni Bey's statement that the regulation of which the Grand Vizier spoke to you, amendatory of the previous iradeh and extending the term of permitted sojourn of foreign Jews in Palestine to three months (instead of one month, as reported in Consul Gillman's No. 26, of September 28, 1887), is coupled with a most obnoxious condition, by prescribing that such alien Israelites shall only be permitted to enter Palestine when bearing passports setting forth "that they are going to Jerusalem in the performance of a pilgrimage, and not for the

[4] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1562.

[5] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1567.

purpose of engaging in commerce or taking up their residence there; which passports, so drawn up (ainsi libelles) are to be vised by the consuls of Turkey. A further *permis de séjour* is also prescribed to be issued by the Imperial authorities, and although not so stated explicitly, it is inferred that the permission in question is only granted on production of the passport itself; the declaration of which the *permis de séjour* is stated to repeat.

It is regarded as strange that so important a condition as this should not have been communicated to you by his excellency. Had it been brought to your notice, it is conceived that you would have considerably amplified and emphasized your declaration to the Grand Vizier that it is one of the fundamental principles of your Government to make no distinction as to its citizens based upon "creed or race," and that you would have made instant and earnest protest against a requirement which would not only involve a declaration by this Government, expressed or inferential, in its formal passports, of the creed of the citizens to whom they are issued, but would further infringe the laws and practice in the matter whereby this Department and its agents are governed, and which preclude giving to citizens of the United States preparing to go abroad any certificate as to their purpose in so going.

To require of applicants for passports, which under our laws are issued to all citizens upon the sole evidence of their citizenship any announcement of their religious faith or declaration of their personal motives in seeking such passports, would be utterly repugnant to the spirit of our institutions and to the intent of the solemn proscription forever by the Constitution of any religious test as a qualification of the relations of the citizens to the Government, and would, moreover, assume an inquisitorial function in respect of the personal affairs of the individual, which this Government cannot exert for its own purposes and could still less assume to exercise with the object of aiding a foreign Government in the enforcement of an objectionable and arbitrary discrimination against certain of our citizens.

Our adherence to these principles has been unwavering since the foundation of our Government, and you will be at no loss to cite pertinent examples of our constant defense of religious liberty, which, as I said in my note to Baron Schaeffer of May 18, 1885, in relation to the Keiley episode at Vienna, "is the chief corner-stone of the American system of Government, and provisions for its security are embedded in the written charter and interwoven in the moral fabric of its laws."

In case a copy of the Keiley correspondence should not be on file in your legation, I enclose the printed document herewith for your convenience.

It may be well for you to ascertain as discreetly as may be the views of your colleagues in respect of this remarkable requirement of the iradeh in question, of which you should also endeavor to secure a copy for examination; but under any circumstances the impossibility of this Government's acceding to any such requirement should be distinctly made known to the Government of the Sublime Porte.

T. F. BAYARD.

[*Mr. Straus to Said Pasha.*] [6]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 17, 1888.

Excellency.—Respecting the recent instructions placed by the Imperial Ottoman authorities upon foreign Jews going to Palestine, the Secretary of State has referred to me, with definite instructions, a note addressed to him by his excellency Mavroyeni Bey, imperial minister at Washington, bearing date the 2d day of March, 1888, whereby he informs the Government of the United States that, in order to put an end to the immigration of Jews into Palestine, " The Sublime Porte has decided only to authorize free access into Palestine to Israelites coming from foreign countries under the following conditions: Their passports should expressly state that they are going to Jerusalem in the performance of a pilgrimage and not for the purpose of engaging in commerce or taking up their residence there. As regards their sojourn in Palestine, instead of one month, it cannot in any case exceed the space of three months. They must have their passports so drawn up (Libelles) vised by the Ottoman consuls and on their arrivals they will be bound to supply themselves with a *permis de séjour* issued by the imperial authorities and couched in the same terms."

I am instructed to inform your excellency that under any circumstances the impossibility of my Government acceding to any such requirement should be distinctly made known to the Sublime Porte.

To require of applicants for passports, which under our laws are issued to all citizens upon the sole evidence of their citizenship, any announcement of their religious faith or declaration of

[6] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1589.

their personal motives in seeking such passport would be utterly repugnant to the spirit of our Constitution and to the intent of the solemn proscription by the Constitution of any religious test as a qualification of the relations of the citizens to the Government, and would, moreover, assume an inquisitorial function in respect of the personal affairs of the individual, which our Government cannot assert for its own purposes and could still less assume to exercise with the object of aiding a foreign government in the enforcement of an objectionable and arbitrary discrimination against certain of our citizens.

I am informed that these restrictive regulations are being very cruelly enforced, not only in Palestine but at the various ports along the Syrian coast, and that foreign Jews upon their arrival at these ports in addition to the foregoing restrictions are compelled to furnish such security to the local authorities that they will again leave the country when the period of three months has expired, and in default of their being able to furnish such security they are thrown into prison.

The foregoing considerations are submitted with the hope that the Sublime Porte will cause these restrictions to be modified or annulled in accordance with the broad principles of toleration that were proclaimed throughout the Ottoman Empire first among the nations of Europe and the Old World, that are embodied in the grand charters of liberties the Hatti-Scheriff and Hatti-Humayoun, and secured to all races and creeds under the capitulations and under treaties with the United States and other nations.

Accept, Excellency, etc.,

O. S. Straus.

[*Mr. Straus to Mr. Bayard.*] [7]

Legation of the United States,

Constantinople, May 19, 1888.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction No. 78, of March 5 last, with inclosure, respecting restrictions against foreign Jews resorting to Palestine.

Upon investigation I learn that the restrictions have not been made in pursuance of the sultan's iradeh, but result from instructions issued by the Sublime Porte.

In effect, however, there is no difference, as they have been strictly enforced by the Governor of Jerusalem and throughout Palestine as well as at certain ports along the Syrian coast.

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[7] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1588.

In accordance with your instructions I inquired of two of my colleagues, the English and French ambassadors, their views upon the subject. I learn that they had received from their respective Governments instructions very much in the same sense as I had received from you.

As long since as the 23d of September, 1887, the right honorable Sir William A. White, the British ambassador, sent a note to the Porte protesting against the regulations upon the ground that the right of British subjects to go and come within the Ottoman dominions is secured by the capitulations and confirmed by all subsequent treaties, and that no distinctions of race and creed can be admitted as regards British subjects or protégés whatever religion they may profess.

The French ambassador, Count de Montebello, informs me that he had been instructed to protest against said regulations and that he would be pleased to confer and co-operate with the English ambassador and myself in the matter. Some three weeks since he informed me that he proposed sending a signed note to the Porte protesting against said regulations; that he had also conferred with the British ambassador, who stated that he would take similar action as soon as a new case in point came before him.

As there is likely to be some delay before my said colleagues take the action indicated, in view of your positive instructions, and the fact that I am informed by the Grand Vizier that the regulations in question have been referred to the legal advisers of the Porte for examination and report upon the question of their modification, I deemed it advisable to delay no longer in forwarding my protest so that it might be before the Porte pending the further consideration of the subject and before a final conclusion might be arrived at. I therefore on the 17th instant transmitted a note to the Porte, of which the inclosed is a copy, wherein I followed in the main not alone the spirit but the letter of your very full and explicit instructions, which I found so completely and well adapted for that purpose.

Trusting that the action thus far taken by me will meet your approval, I have, etc.,

O. S. Straus.

In August, 1888, a case arose through an attempt to expel three American Jews from Jaffa. An energetic protest was made by the Consul at Jerusalem and the Chargé at

Constantinople. These representations apparently resulted favorably, as is evidenced by the following note.

[*The Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Legation of the United States.*] [8]

SUBLIME PORTE,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
October 4, 1888.

In answer to the note verbale that the legation of the United States of America kindly addressed to the ministry of foreign affairs on the 17th of May last (No. 27), the ministry of foreign affairs has the honor to inform the United States legation that the measure concerning the Israelites going to Palestine shall not be applied, except to those who emigrate in number (en nombre), and that no obstacle shall be opposed to the sojourn of those who are not of this class.

Instructions of this sense have already been sent to the governor of Jerusalem.

The entire incident formed the basis of the following dispatch from the Department of State to our Consul at Jerusalem:

[*Mr. Rives to Mr. Gillman.*] [9]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, October 12, 1888.

Sir.—Your dispatches, Nos. 62 and 65, dated, respectively, August 30 and September 10, ultimo, have been received. They related to the attempted expulsion from Palestine of three citizens of the United States—Meyer Freeman, Isaac Gliechman, and Jacob Reichman—who having arrived at Jaffa on the 20th of August last by steamer from Port Said, were prevented from continuing their journey to Jerusalem on the grounds that they were Hebrews, and that their passports, issued by the Department of State in July last, did not bear the visa of some Ottoman consul abroad.

It appears that their passports were taken from them (although subsequently returned), and they were notified that they would be required to leave Palestine by the first steamer. Through the efforts of the consular agent at Jaffa, Mr. Hardegg, their at-

[8] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1619.
[9] Foreign Relations, 1888, page 1617.

tempted expulsion was deferred until September 6. One of these persons in question, Jacob Reichman, escaped, on August 27, from Jaffa, while Meyer Freeman and Isaac Gliechman, (the latter accompanied by his wife) succeeded in evading the vigilance of the Jaffa police, reached Jerusalem on the 5th of September, and were at once placed under police restraint and threatened anew with expulsion. They were, however, offered their liberty on condition of your signing an assurance that they would remain in Palestine only three months, which you very properly refused to do. They were subsequently released in consequence, as would appear, of a perfunctory and irresponsible guaranty, on the part of a resident of Jerusalem, that they would quit Palestine as required. You had reported the case to our legation at Constantinople, and were awaiting the result, the persons in question remaining at liberty, and the date of their notified expulsion, September 6, having passed without steps being taken to effect their removal.

A report in their case has been received from Mr. King, chargé d' affaires ad interim at Constantinople, who writes, under date of the 24th ultimo (No. 115) that he had actively intervened with the Porte, and caused telegraphic orders to be sent the authorities at Jerusalem by the minister of foreign affairs and the Grand Vizier, which he hoped would stop the attempted expulsion.

Your course on the whole seems to have been proper, and the language employed by you to the Ottoman authorities, although very emphatic, may not have been unduly so in view of the slight amenability of the Turkish provincial officers to temperate reasoning or even to superior orders.

The question out of which this incident grows is not a new one. Under date of 2d March last, Mavroyeni Bey, the Turkish envoy at this capital, informed the Department that in view of the alleged inconvenience of the resort of numerous alien Israelites to Palestine for the purpose of business and residence, the Sublime Porte had decided to authorize the entrance of such persons only on the condition that they bear passports which shall "expressly state that they are going to Jerusalem in the performance of a pilgrimage and not for the purpose of engaging in commerce or taking up their residence there," that the passport so drawn up shall be duly vised by Ottoman consuls, and that on arriving the holders shall be bound to provide themselves with permits of sojourn (permis de séjour) issued by the imperial authorities and couched in the same terms as the passports—the duration of such permitted sojourn not to exceed three months.

Mr. Straus was promptly directed to protest against such a measure. As you will see by the inclosed copies of our correspondence, stress was laid upon the total repugnance of the measure to the principles upon which our Government rests and which necessarily determine our treatment of citizens at home or abroad.

The impossibility of making any distinction as to our citizens based upon creed or race precludes any recognition of any curtailment of their treaty rights abroad on such grounds, and in entering into reciprocal stipulations for the mutual advantage and protection of our citizens abroad and aliens of the United States, no qualifications of the sole condition of citizenship could be implied or imposed by the other contracting party without being expressly consented to by us.

No treaty has been entered into between the United States and Turkey to curtail the personal rights or liberty of our citizens, and no such curtailment can now be introduced into our conventional obligations at the will of one of the parties thereto. Still less can Turkey claim as she has appeared to do, our assistance in enforcing a regulation in execution of her claim to apply a discriminatory treatment, the right to which we absolutely deny.

As explained in the Department's reply to Mavroyeni Bey and its instructions to Mr. Straus, the passports we issue can contain no declaration, expressed or inferential, of the creed of the citizens to whom they are issued, or certification of their purpose in going abroad. It is equally incompetent to the Department's agents abroad to make such statements, and still more so to limit the personal freedom of our citizens within their jurisdiction except by due process of law. The guaranty you were asked by the local authorities to give in respect of Freeman and Gliechman would have been expressly and inferentially obnoxious to all objections recited and therefore unlawful. Your refusal to comply with such a request is entirely approved. You can assume no inquisitorial functions in regard to the private and personal affairs of our citizens within your jurisdiction, and so far as their passports are concerned, your official duty is limited to affixing your visa as good for your consular district, and to endeavoring to secure for them, without discrimination, the treatment to which law-abiding citizens are entitled by treaty.

A copy of this instruction will be sent, with transcripts of your dispatches, to Minister Straus for his information.

G. L. Rives,
Acting Secretary.

Victory for our contention was apparently obtained, as is indicated by the following dispatch from Mr. Straus to Secretary Blaine.

[*Mr. Straus to Mr. Blaine.*] [10]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
CONSTANTINOPLE, April 20, 1889.

Sir.—Referring to the subject-matter of the Department's instructions Nos. 74, 107, 111, 140, 154, 168, etc., respecting the restrictions attempted to be placed upon foreign Jews resorting to Palestine, I inclose herewith for your information a copy of a memorial from the Jerushalaim Lodge of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith at Jerusalem.

From this memorial it appears that the action taken by this legation under the Department's instruction and by the English and French embassies, as reported in my dispatches Nos. 80 and 85 respectively, of May 19 and 28, 1888, has had the desired effect in removing such restrictions.

The original memorial is elaborately engrossed in gold and rubric and written in English and Hebrew. Considerable allowance must be made for the extravagant language in which the memorial is couched, after the manner of the East.

I have sent a reply to the memorialists, stating in substance that I was gratified to learn that the restrictions had been rescinded, and that the action I had taken in the matter was in pursuance of and in strict compliance with the Department's instructions to protect American citizens abroad in their rights and privileges as such, irrespective of race and creed.

O. S. STRAUS.

There is no further reference to Jewish cases in the correspondence with Turkey until 1893 when complaint was made by a certain Hyman J. Roos, or Rose, who stated that he was a naturalized citizen of the United States and alleged that he was prevented by the Turkish authorities from selling and conveying certain real estate owned by him in Jerusalem, because he was a Jew. Secretary Gresham instructed Mr. Terrell to look into the matter, ending his dispatch with these

[10] Foreign Relations, 1889, page 716.

words. "No religious test can be recognized by this Government and equal rights under treaties are claimed for all American citizens, regardless of the faith they profess."

It appeared that Mr. Rose was actually a naturalized citizen of the United States. From the correspondence about him, I select the following dispatch of Selah Merrill under date of May 18, 1893.

[*Mr. Merrill to Mr. Quincy.*]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JERUSALEM, Syria, May 8, 1893.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches Nos. 21 and 20, dated, respectively, March 28 and April 20, 1893, both having reference to Hyman Rose and his inability to carry on transactions in land in this country because of a proclamation issued by the Turkish Government forbidding to Jews that right.

The Department is aware that by the treaty all matters pertaining to land, including buying and selling, mortgaging, building, repairs, rents, and the like, are entirely beyond the jurisdiction of the consulate, and are absolutely under the control of the Turkish authorities. They guard this right with the utmost jealousy, and resent anything that appears like interference with their legitimate province. Consequently I have never seen such an order as Mr. Rose refers to, nor has the governor ever sent me any communication on this subject. All the consuls are treated alike in this matter. If the consul were to ask the governor about it, the question would be regarded as an impertinent one. Thus far I know nothing officially about the matter.

On the other hand, I know that the Jews have stopped buying and selling land, and the cause assigned is the same as that given by Mr. Rose. I have repeatedly urged some of our American Jews, since said order was said to have been issued, to make a trial case, bring to me the usual papers, and I would forward them to the governor, and we would soon learn the facts. In every case they have declined to do this, fearing it might involve them in some slight expense. Had they presented such papers to be forwarded as usual, and they had been returned to me I should have then had ground for action, and should have promptly reported the matter to Constantinople and Washington. The consul cannot base a report to the Department upon rumors alone.

I have conferred with Messrs. Frutiger & Co., bankers in this

city, with regard to this matter, and they say that they have reason to think that the order referred to will very soon be modified or annulled altogether. I mention this because this particular firm has more to do with Jewish land transactions than any other firm or individual here. As soon as I become aware of any change I will notify the Department.

The Turkish Government claims the right of discriminating against what it regards as an objectionable class—in this case, the Jews—the same, they say, as the United States discriminates against the Chinese, and the fact that a Jew belongs to this or that nation does not remove him, in their estimation, from the class to which objection is specially made.

Whenever an American citizen wishes to buy land, he presents to the consulate a certain petition, which is forwarded to the governor, according to the two forms inclosed.

SELAH MERRILL.

The dispatch which follows indicates that this incident was closed favorably to the contention of Mr. Rose.

[*Mr. Gresham to Mr. Terrell.*] [11]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, August 19, 1893.

Sir.—I have received your No. 23 of the 29th ultimo, concerning the complaint of Hyman Rose, an American citizen, in the matter of the refusal of the authorities at Jerusalem to permit him to sell his real estate.

It would appear that the objections of the grand vizier lie against the acquisition of lands by non-residents for speculative purposes, and that in imposing upon Mr. Rose an obligation to sell his land to "a citizen" or to "a purchaser not an alien," his excellency is not to be understood as announcing any purpose to impede the bona fide purchase of lands in Turkey by American citizens under the existing real estate protocol.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

In 1894, there was again difficulty about Jews landing in Jaffa, it being insisted that they should make a deposit to guarantee that they would leave in 30 days. Our Government strongly protested against this, but at the conclusion of one

[11] Foreign Relations, 1893, page 669.

dispatch of Secretary Gresham to Minister Terrell there is an important admission which had not hitherto appeared in the Correspondence.

[*Mr. Gresham to Mr. Terrell.*] [12]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, November 7, 1894.

Sir.—Your dispatch No. 324, of the 16th ultimo, relative to the harsh treatment of Jews, temporarily resorting to Jerusalem, has been received.

The restriction of the sojourn of visiting Jews in the ancient capital of their race has been enforced for several years past. Mr. Straus in his No. 57 of January 28, 1888, touches upon the ostensible reasons for this limitation, which was originally fixed for one month and was about that time prolonged to three months. Extended correspondence in regard to the effect of this measure upon American Jews going to Jerusalem is printed in the second volume of Foreign Relations for 1888.

The arbitrary interferences with this class of voyagers which your dispatch reports, such as the detention of their personal effects at Jaffa in order to make their prolonged sojourn in Judaea impossible or difficult, should properly call forth urgent remonstrance in the event of injuring any citizen of the United States; and should your surmise that the intolerant course of the Turkish officials in that quarter is prompted by corrupt motives be verified, those unworthy agents will doubtless be severely rebuked by the high authority of the Porte itself—which cannot be supposed to countenance extortion in any form.

As regards the duration of the period during which law-abiding citizens of the Jewish faith may propose to visit Jerusalem, this Government neither draws nor admits any presumption of intended permanent domicile there from the mere fact of resorting thither. Abandonment of American residence and consequent loss of the right to protection due to bona fide citizens can only be determined by the fact of each case as it may arise. As the records of your legation and of the consulate at Jerusalem will show, this Department has heretofore had occasion to deal with such cases on the facts, and has not hesitated to withdraw the protection when permanent domicile in Judea was shown without evident intent to return to this country.

W. Q. GRESHAM.

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[12] Foreign Relations, 1894, page 752.

The last question of which note is taken occurred in 1901 and is described in the following dispatches.

[*Mr. Griscom to Mr. Hay.*] [13]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
CONSTANTINOPLE, January 31, 1901.

Sir.—I have the honor to transmit herewith inclosed a copy of a dispatch from Consul Merrill at Jerusalem, wherein he reports that he has been notified of a new order issued by the Ottoman minister of the interior in relation to foreign Jews who visit Palestine. The order applies to all Jews who come to Palestine from other countries as pilgrims or visitors, and it provides as follows:

On arriving at Jaffa the visitor must deliver his passport to the Turkish authorities and receive in return a Turkish document. The visitor is allowed to reside in the country three months, at the expiration of which time he must surrender his Turkish permit, receive his passport and leave. In case they do not leave when requested at the expiration of the time allowed, the consuls of different nationalities are to be called upon to compel their subjects to depart.

Mr. Merrill points out the only hold the consulate has on naturalized American Jews in Palestine is the possession of their passport and citizenship papers. Also, they do not always depart at Jaffa, the usual point of arrival. If they do not leave at the expiration of three months, the consul must have authority to send them away in case they refuse to go. The refusal is generally given on the grounds of having no money.

As I am transmitting this dispatch at once for the information and instructions of the Department, I have not yet ascertained what action, if any, the other foreign missions propose to take in this matter.

LLOYD C. GRISCOM.

[*Mr. Hay to Mr. Griscom.*] [14]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, February 28, 1901.

Sir.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 316 of the 31st ultimo, reporting that you are advised by the

[13] Foreign Relations, 1901, page 516.
[14] Foreign Relations, 1901, page 517.

United States consul at Jerusalem that the Ottoman minister of the interior has issued a new order respecting the sojourn in Palestine of foreign Jews who go there as pilgrims or visitors.

You state the provisions of the order and request instructions in the premises.

Setting aside the objectionable feature whereby a racial or religious distinction is made in regard to Jews, and of which feature this Government finds difficulty in taking official cognizance, in view of our constitutional inhibition against any disability founded on creed, the Turkish order now reported appears to establish the rule of three months permitted sojourn of American visitors to Palestine, for which we always have contended. See instructions to Mr. Straus, No. 13, dated October 14, 1898, and subsequent correspondence, on the subject of the Ottoman regulations respecting the entrance of foreign Jews into Palestine.

It should, however, be made clear to the Turkish authorities that the consuls of the United States in Turkish jurisdiction are neither directed nor permitted by law to assist the Turkish officers in their execution of municipal laws or regulations, and therefore could not intervene to constrain the departure of an American citizen from Turkish jurisdiction. Neither can the consul be called upon to forego the performance of his duty in case an American citizen should be harshly dealt with in contravention of treaty or law.

As the consul is without authority to compel a visiting American citizen to deposit his passport and citizen papers in the consulate it would seem that he is not in a position to contest the Turkish requirement that such papers be surrendered to the Ottoman officers during the time of sojourn in Palestine.

JOHN HAY.

The correspondence with Turkey has been rather fully given because of the interest which all Jews must have in everything that relates to Palestine. I ought to add, of my personal knowledge, that the attitude of the Turkish Government strongly expressed to me in 1891 by the then Grand Vizier, Kiamal Pasha, one of the most distinguished statesmen which the Ottoman Empire has produced in modern times, and one entirely sympathetic to Jews, was that, though the Ottoman Government welcomed the settlement of Jews in

any other part of the Empire, it was opposed to any considerable settlement in Palestine itself.

SWITZERLAND.

It may not be so well known to students that the next land to be considered chronologically in this address must be Switzerland, though readers of the publications of this Society have been able to inform themselves through the paper of Mr. Stroock, of New York, entitled "Switzerland and American Jews," which was read at our New York meeting in 1903 and appeared in No. 11 of our publications. I may be permitted to say in passing that it is one of the most instructive papers ever read at a meeting of our Society. Mr. Stroock, in discussing the difficulties with Switzerland, gives a complete picture of the agitation which led up to the vigorous action of our Government. Closely adhering to my particular theme, I am limited to the official documents. Some idea of the importance which this subject attained may be gathered from the bare statement that in volume the diplomatic correspondence of the United States in the years 1853-1860, with Switzerland, concerning Jews, is almost as great as the correspondence available up to the present day with Russia upon the same general subject.

With Switzerland, the first question raised is upon the basis of American citizenship. Mr. Fay, our minister, reported from Berne, under date of Oct. 17, 1853, that a Mr. Gootmann had received from the authorities of Neufchatel and Chaux de Fonds, two successive orders to quit the country on the ground of his being an Israelite merchant. He stated further that most of the counties of the canton had adopted liberal principles with regard to the right of domicile, but in this particular place the situation was complicated by the proximity of Alsatia, with a Jewish population said to be of low description. It does not appear that Mr. Fay at first showed the same vigor in the position he assumed as has been noticed in the dealings with Turkey, witness the following paragraph

from his dispatch on the subject, though I ought to add that as he warmed up to the subject no one could have been more vigorous than he.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,[15]

BERNE, August 31, 1853.

The undersigned, minister resident of the United States of America, has the honor to lay before their excellencies, the president and other members of the high federal council, copy of communication from Mr. A. H. Gootman, who has been by the municipal council of la Chaux de Fonds refused permission to reside in the canton, for the reason that he is an Israelite merchant.

Although the right of a government to deny to strangers the privilege of residing on its territory cannot be disputed, and an article of the federal constitution of Switzerland guarantees the free exercise only of Christian forms of worship, yet the undersigned trusts that the liberal policy of the United States government in permitting every citizen of Switzerland freely to reside on its territory, and pursue under the protection of its laws every field of industry, may be borne in mind and reciprocated.

The undersigned, in soliciting the obliging intervention of the high federal council in favor of the application of his countrymen, has the honor to reiterate the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

THEO. S. FAY.

Another dispatch indicates more clearly the fact that our Minister was not adopting a very strong policy.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Marcy.*] [16]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

BERNE, February 14, 1854.

Sir.—I had the honor to communicate in my No. 25, under date Berne, October 17, 1854, a correspondence with the federal council upon the subject of a Mr. Gootmann, an American citizen, who had been expelled by the authorities of Chaux de Fonds,

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[15] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 3.

[16] Executive Document, Vol. 12, page 6.

canton of Neufchatel, on the ground of his being an Israelite merchant.

Subjoined is a letter from Mr. Gootmann, who, it appears, has been permitted to remain at Chaux de Fonds, as I conclude, in consequence of my interposition. I did not reply to him definitively, because I had not received any definite communication from the federal council. I have now advised him (the note annexed) to accept as a favor, without demanding as a right, the permission to remain where he is until the point may be decided by the pending treaty.

I have the honor, sir, to be, with the highest consideration, your obedient servant,

THEO. S. FAY.

Hon. William L. Marcy,
Secretary of State.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,[17]

BERNE, March 27, 1856.

The undersigned, minister resident of the United States of America, has the honor to ask from their excellencies, the president and other members of the high federal council, their obliging intervention with the government of the canton of Neufchatel in order to obtain for Mr. A. H. Gootmann a *permis de séjour* in that canton. Mr. Gootmann is an American citizen, against whom, except that he is an Israelite, there is not the least objection.

By the annexed certificate it will be seen that he has already transacted his affairs at Chaux de Fonds during five years, and that he enjoys the entire confidence of very respectable persons. He disposes also of sufficient capital for the business in which he is engaged.

It is true that the treaty of 1850 does not grant to Israelites the right of domicile in Switzerland; but considering the character of Mr. Gootmann, and the recommendations which he possesses, the undersigned ventures to hope for a favorable result; and he profits by the occasion to renew to their excellencies, etc., etc.,

THEO. S. FAY.

Correspondence about this case continued until 1856, when it seems to have been satisfactorily settled, but the agitation

[17] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 8.

which it occasioned brought up the question of the revision of the existing treaty with Switzerland. Mr. Fay writes to Mr. Cass, under date of October 13, 1857, that "the obnoxious clause of the treaty was unavoidable, without a revision of the federal constitution of Switzerland." This dispatch and a brief reply of Cass are rather significant.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [18]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
BERNE, October 13, 1857.

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Sir.—I perceive by an American newspaper that there has been a meeting of Jews in the United States upon the subject of our treaty with Switzerland. It may be superfluous to repeat that the obnoxious clause in the treaty was unavoidable without a revision of the federal constitution of Switzerland.

The exclusion of the American Israelites is not even required by the interests of Switzerland. It is true the admission of American Jews would necessitate that of Jews of other nations, and particular inconvenience is apprehended from the usurious Israelitish population of the French province of Alsace. But this would not be considered nor would any other be considered, a sufficient reason for excluding the American Jews from the treaty. There is but one reason, viz: that no change can be made without revising the constitution. The real demand of the Jews, therefore, is that Switzerland shall alter her constitution. This is a question of greater difficulty. I am unable to say whether such a demand could be acquiesced in. In some cantons, particularly that of Aargau, the Jews are admitted.

THEO. S. FAY.

[*Mr. Cass to Mr. Fay.*] [19]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 5, 1857.

Sir.—Your dispatches to No. 258, of the 13th ultimo, inclusive have been received.

Since the meeting of Jews, to which you refer, upon the sub-

[18] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 11.

[19] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 12.

ject of the treaty between the United States and Switzerland took place, memorials, numerously signed by respectable Israelites, against the obnoxious clause in the treaty, have been presented to the President, and by him referred to this department. I am directed by him to instruct you to use all the means in your power to effect the removal of the odious restrictions complained of, which, it is understood, are contained in the laws of but four of the Swiss cantons. You are requested to inform the department upon this point, and to state the names of the cantons in which these laws exist.

LEWIS CASS.

In this instance it would appear from the following documents that the attitude of Jewish citizens had much to do with altering the position taken by our Government and in awakening our minister to the importance of the questions involved.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [20]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
BERNE, November 23, 1857.

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Sir.—I perceive by the *National Intelligencer* of November 2 that memorials have been presented to the President by the committee of a national Hebrew convention, and that the President stated instructions upon the subject had been forwarded to this legation. No such instructions have yet been received.

The following paragraph formed part of my dispatch No. 259:

"The exclusion of the American Israelites is not even required by the interest of Switzerland. It is true the admission of American Jews would necessitate that of the Jews of other nations; and particular inconvenience is apprehended from the usurious Israelite population of the French province, Alsace. But this would not be considered, nor would any other be considered, a sufficient reason for excluding the American Jews from the treaty. There is but one reason, viz: that no change can be made without revising the constitution. The real demand of the Jews, therefore, is that Switzerland shall alter her constitution. This is a question of greater difficulty. I am unable to say

[20] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 12.

whether such a demand would be acquiesced in. In some cantons, particularly that of Aargau, the Jews are admitted."

I would wish carefully to avoid affording encouragement to the Hebrews. At the same time I see a certain possibility; and should I be honored with instructions, I shall earnestly undertake what I consider a just cause, as every oppression exercised against that people is as contrary to the spirit and letter of the Holy Scriptures as to the principles of civilization, and to the dignity of the United States and other free governments.

THEO. S. FAY.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,[21]

BERNE, December 3, 1857.

The undersigned minister resident of the United States has received instructions from his government to call the attention of the high federal council to the treatment occasionally applied to that portion of American citizens professing the Hebrew faith.

The undersigned is aware that certain reasons are supposed to exist for the treatment alluded to, but he believes they will disappear upon examination, and that, while the true material interests of Switzerland would not be impaired by a compliance with the solicitation of his government, it will be found that such compliance is not irreconcilable with existing constitutions and laws.

Before presenting his views, the undersigned has the honor respectfully to request:

1st. The names of the cantons in which restrictions against Israelites have not been abolished.

2d. What the exact nature of the legislation is, as far as it can be applied to American Israelites.

3d. If any satisfactory reason exists for refusing to thousands of highly respectable American citizens the reciprocal equality required by the spirit of the treaty, and accorded to all Swiss upon every part of the territory of the United States.

The undersigned profits by the occasion, etc.,

THEO. S. FAY.

To their excellencies, the President

And the other members of the High Federal Council at Berne.

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[21] Executive Documents, Vol. 12, page 14.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [22]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

BERNE, January 19, 1858.

Sir.—As I am yet without answer to my note on the Israelites, I called yesterday on the vice-president, Mr. Staempfli. The severe illness of the president, Dr. Furrer, and also of Mr. Pioda, chief of the department of the interior, is probably one of the causes of the delay. Mr. Staempfi promised to expedite the matter as far as possible, and represented himself as anxious to promote our design.

I have not much expectation of being able to obtain at this moment all we wish. The subject ought not to be pressed without regard to real difficulties. Persia has recently asked equality for her Mohammedan subjects, and a proposed treaty has consequently fallen through. The same demand in favor of Israelites has been already at different times presented by other governments. Both England and France have been refused, and this fact somewhat complicates the question. It is not one to be solved by too great pressure, which would rather delay than promote the desired purpose. What would the United States Government reply should France and England require a change in our Constitution? and what would France and England say if a concession, refused to them should be instantly accorded to the United States? Supposing Switzerland inclined to yield to our demand, could she do so without danger to herself? Should we be willing to force upon her a precedent which, once recorded, might subject her to similar requirements from other quarters directed against other clauses of her Constitution? In short, sir, you will expect me to conduct the correspondence in view of these considerations without losing sight of our object. Switzerland is justly sensitive as to the interference of foreign powers, and can and will concede more to forbearance than to threats. I have little doubt that the restrictions complained of, if not prevented by imprudent foreign interposition, will disappear in the course of ten years.

After receiving the report of the different cantonal legislatures, I shall endeavor to present the question in so clear a light as to demonstrate that a more liberal course is required by the dignity and even by the material interest of Switzerland herself. I hope also to procure a larger interpretation of the

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[22] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 16.

law in favor of our fellow citizens, that some practical benefit may immediately result.

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THEO. S. FAY.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [23]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

BERNE, March 9, 1858.

Sir.—President Furrer being ill, I called this morning upon Vice-President Staempfli to inquire the cause of the delay in answering my note upon the subject of the Israelites, communicated December 3, 1857. He said application had been made to the cantonal governments for the desired information, which had not yet arrived, and which he would place in my possession as soon as possible. He added that public opinion in Switzerland was changing upon the subject of the restrictions complained of. I replied I was sure my government had no intention to make any imperative demand of a nature to embarrass. I should be glad to communicate to it the state of legislation as soon as convenient, and in my note to the federal council I should endeavor to treat the question with all true delicacy, but presenting such suggestions as it seemed to me must promote a speedy general movement in a more liberal direction. There is, as before stated, considerable sensibility upon all foreign interference. I must respect this natural sentiment.

THEO. S. FAY.

In 1858, while the subject matter of this correspondence was pending, a new case arose, that of Mr. Sigmund Muhlhauser.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [24]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

BERNE, April 13, 1858.

Sir.—I have the honor to communicate a note which I have just addressed to the federal council, April 9, on the subject of a new act of intolerance, by Basle-Ville, against an Israelite American citizen, Mr. Sigmund Muhlhauser, whose passport was

[23] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 17.

[24] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 18.

signed by yourself September 17, 1857. Of his standing and character I have had no proof, but not the least reason to suppose anything derogatory. He applied for permission to reside and carry on his business as an optician in Basle, and received for answer copy of a decree of the executive council to the effect that his application could not even be considered from the fact of his being an Israelite. I have the honor to annex copy of this decree, and also of his complaint to me.

The half canton of Basle-Ville occupies a surface of about a German square mile, possesses several communes, and touches on either side France, and the Grand Duchy of Baden. One hundred and seven Israelites, by the statistical table, reside there. I have simply presented his case, reserving remarks for a future note.

I have availed myself of the occasion to remind the federal council that I am patiently waiting a reply to my note of December 3, 1857.

I beg your indulgence, sir, for what may seem lukewarmness in my manner of conducting this correspondence. I feel, on the contrary, a particular desire to call the serious attention of Switzerland, her governments and people, to the disgraceful state of this question. In order to do so successfully, I must proceed with great delicacy, avoid any national susceptibility, and anticipate in my note the principal points which can be alleged in reply. It would be useless to deny that they have the law on their side. I must, therefore, only endeavor to show that the law is as much in conflict with the real material interests as it is with the reputation of a free and civilized country.

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THEO. S. FAY.

It will be noted that the Minister, Mr. Fay, is apologizing to the Secretary of State for "what may seem lukewarmness in my manner of conducting this correspondence."

[*Mr. Cass to Mr. Fay.*] [25]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1858.

Sir.—Your dispatches to No. 282 inclusive have been received. The President learns with pleasure that your efforts in behalf

[25] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 22.

of the American Israelites in Switzerland have not been relaxed. The removal of the restrictions contained in the cantonal laws so oppressive to Jewish citizens of the United States is, as you are aware, a matter which the President has much at heart; and he indulges the hope that the measures taken by you to secure that result may be successful.

LEWIS CASS.

At this point, the Department of State apparently referred the matter to Jonas P. Levy, whose reply which is transmitted is of great interest.

No. 464 SEVENTH STREET,[26]

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1858.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated the 10th instant this day. The following are replies to his interrogatories, trusting that they will enable him to bring the subject of controversy to a close with a satisfactory result.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, yours, very respectfully,

JONAS P. LEVY.

Hon. Lewis Cass,
Secretary of State.

1st question. About 400,000 Israelites.

2d question. On an average with the wealthiest Christian citizens.

3d question. No particular class, but in all and every honorable and respectable profession.

4th question. They hold the highest trust under our government. Members of Congress, Senators, majors of the army, and captains of the navy and merchant service, counsellors-at-law, and medical doctors, aspire to the highest trust in the gift of the people of the United States.

5th question. Thousands; merchants, mechanics, officers of the army and navy, and gentlemen of all the liberal professions and wealth with their families.

6th question. Nearly every part of the world where freedom and religious liberty exists.

7th question. Great Britain, France, Holland, Russia, Ger-

[26] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 57.

many, and Turkey. Spain and Portugal are in a manner ruled, and some of their highest offices filled, by Israelites.

The United States contain about 200,000 native-born Israelites. The archives of the criminal courts of the United States cannot show one case in each million of her inhabitants for murder, arson, or highway robbery against the Israelites.

Though last, not least, the Israelites never seek to make a proselyte or interfere with the doctrines of other sects.

[*Mr. Cass to Mr. Fay.*] [27]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 29, 1858.

Sir.—The questions propounded in your 295, respecting American Israelites were referred to Mr. Jonas P. Levy, of this city, whose reply you will find in the enclosed copy of a letter addressed to this department on the 12th instant, and received today. It was accompanied by a letter to you from Mr. Levy and a newspaper, both of which are transmitted.

Your dispatches to No. 296, inclusive have been received.

LEWIS CASS.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [28]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

BERNE, October 28, 1858.

Sir.—The *Berner Zeitung* of the 26th instant mentions with disapprobation and even contempt the illiberality of the government of Thurgau in having recently refused the right of establishment to another Israelite, said to be an American citizen. As this person has not addressed a complaint to the legation, I have thought it best to take no official notice of it, for I wish to avoid making violent demands which we have not legal right to make, and which would only irritate and diminish the probability of a satisfactory termination of my correspondence.

The printed paragraph reads as follows:

"The Council of State of the canton of Thurgau has just refused the right of domicile to an Israelite pleading his American citizenship. The Thurgovian Christianity must be in a very tottering state to be frightened by a son of Abraham."

Some time ago I received a copy of the *Israelite*, an American

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[27] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 56.

[28] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 57.

newspaper, containing an article upon the Swiss restrictions against the Israelites, with an account of the visit of the editors of the *Israelite* and the *Deborah*, and of other Jewish gentlemen, to the State Department in August last, and an extract from my dispatches, with the résumé forwarded by me of the legislation of the cantons with regard to the Jews.

I thought it proper to show this to President Furrer, who had it translated and placed upon the table of the federal council. The article contained some biting remarks in language the most unreserved; but I thought it better to show it myself rather than it should be sent by any one else. I have no doubt copies of it will be communicated to the cantonal government, and that a good effect will be produced, although not so good as if the language had been less strong than the arguments.

I had an interview with President Furrer this morning. I told him I was deeply interested in bringing this matter to a fair conclusion. There was much to be said on the Swiss side, I knew; but there was much also on the American side. I was busily preparing my note. He had seen my solicitude to avoid indiscretion in asking of Switzerland anything more than was just, wise, consistent with her independence, and required by her material interests. He said there was a very strong spirit in some of the cantons, particularly in Basle-Campagne, and began telling how many Israelites there were in Switzerland. I told him I believed I knew and had counted nearly every one; that the question might be easily settled to the satisfaction of the American government and of all the respectable Israelites of the United States. He said there was the constitution, and there was the absolute sovereignty, on that point, of the canton governments. I replied I could not feel satisfied that the question would be properly examined, when my remarks to the federal council were always met by the plea of incompetency; and I inquired whether it would be agreeable for me to negotiate directly with the cantonal governments. He said, no, not officially, not in writing; but there could be no objection to personal intercourse. I replied—supposing the cantonal magistrates to be reasonable men—I thought they would not even desire to refuse the just demands of the American government, when they plainly understood what it was and what it was not. He said it was very probable I could do much by endeavors of that kind.

I shall present my note to the federal council, and then, if not, sir, instructed to the contrary, undertake to press my views personally upon the leading magistrates of the most illiberal can-

tons. Our friends on the other side of the Atlantic must have patience, and understand that nothing can be done by precipitation, and still less by bullying. Switzerland in the matter stands upon her constitution and laws, and the United States government would be the last to use intimidation. We must influence by reason. This, I believe, can be done in the way I propose. One paragraph, like that above cited from a popular Swiss newspaper, pointing the finger of ridicule, helps our cause more than any threatening note I could write.

I have, etc.

THEO. S. FAY.

[*Mr. Fay to Mr. Cass.*] [29]

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
BERNE, November 9, 1858.

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Sir.—The Israelite question unfolds itself with continually increasing interest. I am earnestly engaged on my note, in which I propose to hold up the entire question so that its true character cannot be denied. The mouth of all foreign governments and preceding treaty makers has been till now closed by a plea of the Alsatian Jews. I think, after the *renseignements* which I am now collecting, no Swiss authority will ever dare to advance that objection again as an argument and I am more and more of the opinion that it may become expedient to denounce our treaty, until the expunction of the offensive clause.

I propose a visit to Alsatia (but six or eight hours' distant by railroad), partly that I may examine with my own eyes, and partly that I may consult Mr. Nordman, a learned Israelite rabbi, by whose assistance, I understand, I may complete my table of Jewish statistics.

I have, etc.,

THEO. S. FAY.

On May 26, 1859, Mr. Fay presented his long-promised Israelite note to the Swiss Government. This document occupies many pages and is a review of everything that went before in the dispatches between our legation and the Swiss Government. He takes each canton and summarizes its pro-

[29] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 60.

scriptive laws. He does not hesitate to refute in vigorous language all the charges made against the Jews. He points out the business and economic disadvantages resulting from the Swiss policy. He ridicules the idea that a country which would permit the 26,000,000 of American citizens to come into Switzerland freely, should be afraid of the small proportion of American Jews who might come there. Shifting his argument at times from that of the point of view of an American citizen he refers to the illiberality of certain cantons which prohibit Jewish worship and quotes a letter from a Protestant clergyman which relates to Jews who died in a certain canton and who had to be carried over the French frontier for burial. He dwells upon this point, saying that if the American people were to learn (which they might do at any time) that one of their countrymen, dying in Switzerland, had been obliged to be carried by the mourning relatives to receive the last rites in France or Austria, they would consider it a strange return for the admiration they have always entertained for their sister republic, as holding a place in the first rank of liberty and civilization. Numerous arguments favorable to the Jews are advanced, the Alsatian Jews are defended against the charges made against them, and the growth of civil liberty in Continental States is brought out. The fling made against the institution of slavery in America is dismissed as having no relation to the subject, since no Swiss coming to the United States is injured thereby. The document is really strong and convincing and deserves to be better known to the present generation than it is. With the permission of the Department, Mr. Fay had this note printed in the German and French languages, no doubt a most unusual attempt to influence public opinion in a foreign country, and he reports, under date of October 6, 1859, that the edition was nearly exhausted, and that he had received many favorable expressions with regard to the emancipation of the Jews in Switzerland as well as the free admission of the American Jews which was the original intention. In subsequent dispatches, he reports

favorable action on the part of one or another of the cantons and transmits the debates in the Council. The following dispatch relates to the Zurich:

[*Mr. Furrier to Mr. Fay.*] [80]

BERNE, October 25, 1859.

Honorable Sir.—With the present, I have the satisfaction of transmitting a debate in the general council of Zurich, by which you will see that an immense majority of the council is disposed to change the legislation respecting the Israelites, in the interest of humanity and progress. Let us hope that this example will not be without consequences.

Be as good as to accept, honorable sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

D. FURRER.

Many other cantons followed. Gradually, one after the other removed all restrictions against the Jews, and the Swiss constitution, adopted in 1874, established religious liberty and made the question of the treatment of aliens a federal matter. While it might have been expected that such a result would have been eventually attained, there can be no doubt that the steady and persistent policy of the United States in this matter, even after France had failed, contributed largely to the result.

It should be remarked that the policy of the United States with regard to Switzerland was most vigorous under the Presidency of James Buchanan.

MOROCCO.

Morocco is the next country to be taken up in chronological order. It was in the midst of the Civil War that the Department first turned its attention to Jewish affairs in that country, being moved thereto both by the reports of our consul at Tangier and by a communication from the Board of Delegates of American Israelites under date of November 25,

[80] Executive Documents, Vol. 76, page 99.

1863. Atrocities and barbarities had been perpetrated upon the Jews of Tangier; innocent persons had been tortured. The Board of Delegates requested that our consul be authorized to co-operate with the British authorities in furthering the mission of Sir Moses Montefiore. The memorial stated as a precedent the action taken under President Van Buren in the Damascus case. Secretary Seward wrote to our consul general that he was authorized "to exercise all proper influence to prevent a repetition of the barbarous cruelties to which Israelites in the Moorish Empire have on account of their religion been subjected," adding that such course was dictated by common humanity.

Under date of November 5, 1863, our consul at Tangier, Mr. Jesse H. McMath, in forwarding a communication from the Jewish community at Tangier states: "However, I feel it to be my duty to say that the representations made to the Board of Deputies in London and the Israelitic alliance in Paris, instead of mitigating (if not from some other cause) have certainly aggravated the condition of the Jews of this country."

It should be said that some of the atrocities complained of were instigated by a Spanish vice consul in Morocco.

Mr. McMath, under date of January 12, 1864, reports to Secretary Seward the success of the visit of Sir Moses Montefiore to Madrid. He refers to the terrible execution of two Jews without the least shadow of conviction or guilt, and closes his dispatches by saying "in view of all the circumstances and upon the authority of your late instructions, at the same time exercising the greatest care for the just rights of all concerned, I believe it to be my duty, in the name of humanity, to exert my influence with His Majesty's government to prevent any injustice to this race."

On May 15, 1865, Mr. McMath reports another outrage against Jews, one of whom was a clerk to the American vice-consul and therefore American protected. He, in conjunction with the British minister, the Spanish minister and the

consul general of Portugal, had taken active and successful steps in the matter.

Again in 1878, the condition of the Jews in Morocco finds its way into the Diplomatic Correspondence.

[*Mr. Benshiton to Mr. Mathews.*] [31]

ARZILA, August 11, 1878.

Sir.—I have the honor to inform you, with much regret, that yesterday the Moors killed a Hebrew, by the name of David or Jacob Ederhy, quite close to this town, and that all the environs and gardens of this town are infested with thieves and assassins getting ready to enter and plunder the Israelites, who already do not risk to go out of town for fear of being assassinated and robbed. Thus they are prevented from earning their daily bread at the various markets, and consequently their sufferings on these days of famine, sickness, and misery are great.

For several days past these highwaymen and evil-doers have attempted to scale the town walls; also they tried to break its gates; and all this is taking place for the want of government and police.

In vain we have appealed to the governor of Laraiche for help; and now all the Hebrews of Arzila have come to me to appeal to you in the name of humanity, that, with your influence and good-will you may speak on our behalf with the Moorish Government, and obtain for us some troops that may drive the malefactors away from this neighborhood and protect our lives and properties, now in the most imminent danger; and this act of yours will be a favor which God Almighty will reward you with his blessing and much happiness.

W. L. BENSHITON.

[*Mr. Benshiton to Mr. Mathews.*] [32]

ARZILA, August 22, 1878.

Sir—I have the honor and great satisfaction to inform you that at nine o'clock this morning 50 soldiers, with their chief, entered this town from Laraiche, sent by the governor of that city for the purpose of defending the lives and property of the Jewish inhabitants of this town, according to your request to the minister of foreign affairs of Morocco.

The inhabitants of Arzila, in the name of whom I have the

[31] Foreign Relations, 1878, page 691.

[32] Foreign Relations, 1878, page 692.

honor to address you, are full of gratitude toward you for the amiability and prompt attention you have shown in their hour of peril, and implore of the Almighty God that he may reward you with much happiness and prosperity in union of your children, who may God preserve for infinite years.

W. L. BENSHITON.

[*Mr. Mathews to Mr. Evarts.*] [33]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

TANGIER, September 20, 1878.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 132, dated July 2, 1878, together with its accompaniments, relative to the request of the president and vice-president of the board of delegates of American Israelites, New York, requesting that I should be instructed to inquire into the condition of the Jews of this empire, and to consult for the amelioration of their status, and to take such steps toward the accomplishment of the end desired, consistent with my international obligations with this government.

I am happy to state that my relations with this Government of Morocco are such that I can exercise my unofficial duty on behalf of the Israelites in this country with good result when required, as it has been the case lately, when a Jewish family was murdered near Laraiche, and another Israelite near Arzila, and the town itself menaced by the Kabyles, who were preparing to murder and plunder all the Israelites in the place. Having received a letter to this effect from the elders of the Hebrew community of Arzila, I lost no time in communicating the same personally to the Moorish minister of foreign affairs, who at once dispatched a messenger to the governor of Laraiche, who, on receipt of our letters, immediately ordered a Kaid, and fifty soldiers to Arzila, there to protect the Jewish population, who were in great consternation.

The murderers of the Jewish family are now in prison, and the minister for foreign affairs has assured me that their punishment will be such as to deter others from committing similar acts of violence in the future.

I beg to inclose herewith copies of the two letters addressed to me by Mr. M. L. Benshiton, chief of the Israelites of Arzila, requesting my intercession on their behalf, and acknowledging the result of the same.

I shall avail myself of all proper opportunities to accomplish

[33] Foreign Relations, 1878, page 691.

in the manner you have been pleased to indicate, the ends desired by the board of delegates of American Israelites.

FELIX A. MATHEWS.

[*Mr. Sanger to Mr. Evarts.*] [34]

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS,
BOARD OF DELEGATES ON CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS,
NEW YORK, October 18, 1880.

Sir.—I have the honor to inform you that this board has designated Mr. Levi A. Cohen as its accredited agent at Tangier, Morocco, to look after the interests of our Israelitish brethren in that locality, and with a view to his presenting to the United States consul at Tangier, authenticated facts in relation to any wrongs done them, so that the perpetrators thereof may be speedily punished and proper reparation made.

I have been requested to communicate this action to the Department of State of the United States, with the view that Mr. Mathews may be officially advised of the facts and his co-operation invited.

In support of our action we find the within statement.

I am, with assurances of regard, very respectfully yours,

ADOLPHE L. SANGER, *Secretary.*

[*Mr. Evarts to Mr. Mathews.*] [35]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, October 28, 1880.

Sir.—This Department is in receipt of a communication from Mr. Adolphe L. Sanger, secretary of the board of delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York. acquainting it with the designation of Mr. Levi A. Cohen as the accredited agent of that board at Tangier, Morocco, to look after the interests of Hebrews in that locality. It is one of the purposes of Mr. Cohen's appointment that he should present to you authenticated facts in relation to any wrong which may be done to Hebrews in Morocco, in order that the perpetrators thereof may be punished and reparation made in proper cases. The board of delegates in communicating this information desires that you may be officially advised of the capacity with which Mr.

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[34] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1043.

[35] Foreign Relations, 1881, p. 805.

Cohen, who resides at Tangier, is invested, and that your co-operation with him may be invited.

Your earnest and urgent intercessions in behalf of this persecuted race in Morocco have for some time past commanded the cordial sympathy and approval of this Department. In view of this it seems unnecessary to do more than acquaint you with the mission undertaken by Mr. Cohen as the representative of the large and influential Hebrew organizations of this country; and in the interest of humanity and civilization you will doubtless upon any future occasion continue your good offices in behalf of the Jewish race.

WM. M. EVARTS.

[*Mr. Evarts to Mr. Fairchild.*] [36]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, November 12, 1880.

Sir.—The accompanying copy of a letter from Mr. Adolphe L. Sanger, the secretary of the board of delegates on civil and religious rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, will explain the circumstances under which this Department has instructed Mr. Mathews, the United States consul at Tangier, to extend all proper countenance and support to Mr. Levi A. Cohen, as the accredited agent of that board to watch over the interests of Hebrews in Morocco, and to present to the consulate authentic facts in relation to wrongs done them.

Mr. Mathew's instructions, requiring the communication to you of all that he may trustworthily learn respecting the ill treatment of Jews in Morocco will cover the transmission to the legation of such facts as he may obtain from Mr. Cohen.

I am, sir, etc.,

WM. M. EVARTS.

Again there are cases of ill-treatment reported by Felix A. Mathews to Mr. Evarts, under date of April 17, 1880. On January 17, 1881, Mr. Fairchild writes from the legation at Madrid to Mr. Evarts, transmitting information regarding the treatment which the Jews in Morocco continued to receive. He says that the promises of the Sultan have not been kept, and it is impossible to procure the punishment of the officials

[36] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1043.

who are known to be guilty of the crimes of unjustifiably confining, heavy fines and whipping even to the death of the unhappy victims of their hatred. Mr. Fairchild encloses a note addressed to the Moorish minister of foreign affairs to be signed by the representatives of the various powers at Madrid. Under date of April 20, 1881, Mr. Fairchild writes to Mr. Blaine giving an account of the trip to Morocco which he voluntarily undertook in order to make a personal examination of the condition of the Jews there.

[*Mr. Fairchild to Mr. Blaine.*] [37]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

MADRID, April 20, 1881.

Sir.— * * * I have now the honor to report that I proceeded to Tangier, Morocco, where I arrived on the 22d of last month.

Keeping constantly in mind that the object of the visit was to learn all I could of the present condition of the Jews and other non-Mohammedan subjects of the Sultan, I embraced every opportunity to converse with and make inquiries of residents of Tangier on the subject. I had before leaving Madrid provided myself with letters to certain Jews in Tangier, who were well known to their prominent co-religionists here and in Paris, so that the very best facilities were offered me for obtaining information from unofficial sources. I also conferred freely with several of the diplomatic corps resident in that city.

I will not attempt to describe the condition of the people in whose well-being the Government of the United States takes so great an interest. The files of the Department of State, our energetic consul at Tangier, and from many other sources, contain all that can now be said on the subject by anyone. That the treatment of the Jews is not now in any perceptible degree better or more humane than it was before the writing of the letter of the Sultan to the Madrid conference on affairs in Morocco last summer, is a melancholy fact, notwithstanding the far-reaching promises made in that communication.

While the Jews are subjected constantly to the greatest humiliation because of their religious belief, murders of and brutal behavior towards them by Mohammedans are not of daily

[37] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1054.

occurrence; still, at brief intervals, such sad events happen, and the protection of the victims often enlists the earnest sympathy and active efforts of the official representatives of foreign countries at Tangier. Without such protection as those officials can give by interceding in behalf of the oppressed, and by urgent demands for the punishment of the guilty ones, the situation of the Jews would be a hundred-fold worse.

However, it is believed by many who have had much experience in Morocco, that the Sultan would be glad to see a greater measure of liberty granted to all of his non-Mohammedan subjects; but that should he endeavor to enforce official decrees to that effect he would be met by such a resistance from his Mohammedan subjects as would endanger his throne. Of rebellions and civil wars His Majesty has on his hands more than a comfortable supply at all times, and his anxiety to avoid one which would seriously jeopardize his government cannot be wondered at. The bright side of the picture is the fact that most of the important governments of the world have representatives at Tangier, all of whom are unflagging in their efforts to lessen the burdens of the oppressed in that unhappy land, and I am proud to know that my own country stands well to the front in this good work, and that our consul, Mr. Mathews, loses no opportunity to effectively contribute his full share in that direction.

All that can be done in the near future is to continue to protect the suffering people by intercession in individual cases, and by constant appeals to the Sultan to do all that he can, or dare, towards the uplifting of those who are now in such a downtrodden condition. European complications may arise which will be of vast benefit to Morocco and I look forward with pleasure to the day, which possible we will see, when some one or more of the European nations will have gained such ascendancy over it as to be able to compel, by force, if necessary, a more enlightened and liberal administration of affairs. Thus the people of Morocco can be relieved, and I see at present no other hope.

While I am unable, because of this visit to Tangier, to add much to the information already in the possession of the Department, I have the advantage of having ascertained on the spot that the reports which have for years been published of the sad situation of the people there, have not been in the least exaggerated, and I have the greatest satisfaction in knowing more of the philanthropic efforts in their behalf by the official representatives of foreign countries—The United States not being behind any other. And these efforts of the Government of the United States

are most highly appreciated by those in whose behalf they are put forth, as well as by their brothers in religion in the United States and in Europe. As an indication of that feeling, I beg to quote from a letter to me from one of the most prominent Israelites (a citizen of the United States) in Europe, who learned of the object of my journey to Morocco. He writes:

It does one's heart good to belong to a government which is as strong and mighty as it is humane and philanthropic, and which from motives of pure humanity sends one of its ministers to a far-off country to alleviate the sufferings of a people and a race which is quite foreign to it.

Confident that my government will in the future, as in the past, be one of the foremost of nations in such good works, I shall always esteem it a high privilege, whether as one of its officials or as a private citizen, to contribute thereto my very best efforts.

I have, etc.,

LUCIUS FAIRCHILD.

[*Mr. Blaine to Mr. Fairchild.*] [38]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, June 13, 1881.

Sir.—I must express to you my appreciation of your admirable dispatch No. 140, of the 20th of April last, conveying your personal observations in regard to the condition of the Jews in Morocco. The confidence I have reposed in your discretion in this relation is abundantly justified, and I feel that I can safely leave to you the correct interpretation, now as in the past, of the sentiments of humanity which prompt the friendly action and counsel of the United States in the direction of endeavoring to procure toleration and personal security for this unhappy race in their chief African asylum.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

There is little to be added worthy of note. Morocco is, to a large extent, still in the same condition as it was a quarter of a century ago. There is hope of a possible mitigation due to a gradual extension of French influence to Morocco. It is

[38] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1056.

true that the Jews of Algiers and even of Tunis suffered under French rule and influence, but it is hardly to be supposed that the great and enlightened French nation will ever again repeat the madness of the years of the Dreyfus agitation.

ROUMANIA.

The Roumanian question has been very recently before the public and is too fresh in mind and too voluminous in extent to require or render possible any considerable treatment here. As far back as June 14, 1867, the Board of Delegates brought to the attention of the Department of State the wrongs to which the Jews in Roumania were subjected, and requested the good offices of our Government in behalf of their co-religionists in the Danubian principalities. Mr. Morris, our minister to Constantinople, reported to Mr. Seward, under date of July 12, 1867, that Mr. Golesco, the agent of the Danubian principalities, had denied that there had been any real persecution, and that the action of the government was of a purely defensive character. Mr. Morris reports himself as replying that whatever might be the object of the Government, it has all the appearance of religious persecution, and that the confidence of the Government of the United States would be impaired in the Government at Bucharest unless the proscriptive measures against the Jews were discontinued.

Passing rapidly to a later period of very great interest I cite a series of dispatches from Mr. Kasson, still happily alive, then our minister to Vienna, in which he proposes action on behalf of the Jews in connection with the expected recognition of the independence of Roumania.

[*Mr. Kasson to Mr. Evarts.*] [39]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
VIENNA, June 5, 1878.

Sir.—The United States Government has on different occasions

[39] Foreign Relations, 1878, page 42.

interested itself in the question of protecting American Jews traveling or residing in Roumania, and has expressed its sympathy with the oppressed condition of the race in that country. Preliminary to a report which I am preparing respecting the establishment of treaty relations between the United States and Roumania, whose independence, it is expected, the congress about to assemble will recognize, I beg leave to bring to your attention the question of securing the object in which so many of our compatriots take a deep interest.

In anticipation of Roumanian independence, Germany commenced negotiations with the Roumanian Government for a commercial treaty. According to information received here, the hostility of the latter to the recognition of equal rights for Jews of a foreign nationality with those of other citizens or subjects of the same nationality would have practically proscribed a portion of the German subjects. For that reason the proposed treaty was not accepted by Germany.

There is little conception in America of the tenacity of the prejudice against that race in Roumania, and of the contempt and occasional violence and wrong to which this prejudice leads, as well as to the legal deprivation of the ordinary privileges of good citizenship.

It would be to the honor of the United States Government if it could initiate a plan by which at once the condition of American Hebrews resident or travelling in Roumania, and the conditions of natives of the same race, could be ameliorated and their equality before the law at least partially assured.

The European congress is about to assemble, and will be asked to recognize the independence of Roumania. Would there be any just objection to the United States Government offering on its part, if the European powers would on their part, make the same condition, to recognize the independence of that country, and to enter into treaty stipulations with its government, only upon the fundamental preliminary agreements:

1. That all citizens or subjects of any such foreign nationality shall irrespective of race or religious belief, be entitled to equal rights and protection under the treaty and under their laws.

2. That all subjects or citizens under the jurisdiction of the Roumanian Government shall, irrespective of their race or religious belief, have equal rights of trade and commerce with the citizens or subjects of the foreign governments making such treaty; equal rights in the purchase, consumption, barter, or sale of the products of such foreign country, and in sales of Rouma-

nian products to such aliens; equal rights to make contracts with the citizens or subjects of such foreign government, and to be equally protected by the laws in the exercise of the rights so secured.

To this extent, at least, it seems foreign governments would be justified by international law and the law of self-interest; while they would at the same time give effect to the humane instinct of all truly civilized and Christian nations. The persecuting and oppressive spirit is so strong in Roumania against the Jews that it requires united action by liberal and constitutional governments, as well as an appeal to the strongest desires of the Roumanian people, which are just now to be permitted to enter the family of nations, to bring relief and emancipation to this proscribed race.

Your own judgment will improve, doubtless, the form of action above suggested; but it will be sufficient, I hope, to attract your attention to a question, the favorable solution of which would greatly gratify the American people, and evoke especial gratitude from that race which has found in the United States absolute legal equality and security, and the occasion of the congress is most favorable for giving it effect, if approved.

JOHN A. KASSON.

[*Mr. Kasson to Mr. Evarts.*] [40]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

VIENNA, February 16, 1879.

Sir.—Mr. Balatshano, the envoy and minister of Roumania, who is accredited to this court and has already been received, yesterday verbally communicated to me the wish of his government to enter into diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States. Whether the representative of the American Government should be an envoy of the first rank or of any inferior diplomatic grade, his royal highness Prince Charles would commission one of the same grade to represent his government at Washington. He wished this comunication to be considered as official.

So accepting it, I have now the honor to advise you of the same, and to await instructions from you touching the fitting response to be made.

In the course of conversation, I alluded to the preliminary requirements of the Berlin treaty in respect to the Jews. He

[40] Foreign Relations, 1879, page 49.

replied that the necessary changes would be made in their laws to give satisfaction on this point, and to establish for the Jews the basis of absolute equality with other races. He estimated the number of Jews in Roumania to be 600,000, of whom less than one-tenth were native born, and he thought Roumania had a right to protect her own native race from being overwhelmed by a foreign incursion of this character which did not wish to submit to the duties and responsibilities which are borne by natives of the Roumanian race. He referred with politeness, and not without a point which I appreciated to the law just passed by one House of our Congress for the suppression of Chinese immigration to the United States, although the proportion of that race present in the United States to the native population is minute in comparison with that of the Jewish immigrants to native Roumanians. He, however, repeated the assurance that they would be placed on a basis of equality before the law.

JOHN A. KASSON.

[*Mr. Evarts to Mr. Kasson.*] [41]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1879.

Sir.—Your dispatch No. 256 of the 31st ultimo, inclosing the reply of His Highness the Prince of Roumania to the letter which the President addressed to him on the 15th of August, 1878, has been received. In connection with the subject of Roumanian recognition, I inclose for your consideration a copy of a letter under date of the 30th ultimo from Mr. Myer S. Isaacs, president, and other officers of the board of delegates on civil and religious rights of the Hebrews, asking that the Government of the United States may exert its influence towards securing for its Hebrew subjects and residents in Roumania the equality of civil and religious rights stipulated in Article XLIV of the treaty of Berlin.

As you are aware, this government has ever felt a deep interest in the welfare of the Hebrew race in foreign countries, and has viewed with abhorrence the wrongs to which they have at various periods been subjected by the followers of other creeds in the East. This Department is therefore disposed to give favorable consideration to the appeal made by the representative of a prominent Hebrew organization in this country in behalf of their brethren in Roumania, and while I should not be warranted in making a compliance with their wishes a *sine qua non* in the

[41] Foreign Relations, 1880, page 35.

establishment of official relations with that country, yet any terms favorable to the interest of this much-injured people which you may be able to secure in the negotiations now pending with the Government of Roumania would be agreeable and gratifying to this Department.

I am, etc.,

WM. M. EVARTS.

[*Mr. Kasson to Mr. Evarts.*] [42]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

VIENNA, December 24, 1879.

Sir.—In acknowledging your No. 138, with the inclosed copy of the application made in behalf of the Jews of Roumania, I beg to advise you of the principles of my action on the same subject in the case of Servia.

According to the information of this legation, there are some inaccuracies of statement in the memorandum submitted to the Department in behalf of the "Union of American Hebrew Congregations." It is not necessary, however, here to review that paper. I will only say that Italy is already satisfied with the action of Roumania, and has by her plenipotentiary recognized Roumanian independence. Austria has previously done so. France is about to do the same. Germany is held back by altogether different considerations.

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Knowing the sympathies and interest of my government in the condition of this race in the principalities, I have followed the progress of diplomatic intervention and of local legislation with constant attention. I am convinced that, with the exception of always possible isolated instances of injustice, such progress has been made that the only branch of civil rights which now gives us just cause of anxiety is that relating to the extent and the mode of granting to the Hebrews the rights of citizenship. It would appear that the equal protection of person and property under the laws has been assured. The principle of naturalization embraces them in common with other races without distinction. Its practical application is a question so peculiarly pertaining to interior administration as to render foreign judgment upon it almost inadmissable.

It has been my intention to follow in negotiations with

[42] Foreign Relations, 1880, page 42.

Roumania the text of my propositions to Servia. These are intended to secure to American citizens, of all faiths, protection of person and property, equally with that given to natives, full rights of trade, and full liberty for the exercise by them of the rights of religious faith and of public worship. The stipulations on the latter point follow the language of the article relating thereto in the Treaty of Berlin. Copies of the same are inclosed.

* * * * * *

JOHN A. KASSON.

Art. IV. There shall be entire liberty of commerce between the persons belonging to the jurisdiction of the principality of Servia and those of the United States of America.

The citizens of the contracting states, may, while conforming to the laws of the country, freely reside in all parts of the territory of the other, may traverse this territory, or establish themselves there in business. They shall enjoy in all that concerns their person and property the same security enjoyed by the natives.

They may exercise their industry or their commerce, wholesale or retail, in every part, city, port or place whatever of the territory of the other state, and to this end they may lease the necessary locations, houses, and stores.

The citizens of Servia in the United States, and the citizens of the United States in Servia, whether they establish themselves or take up temporary residence, shall not be subjected, either in respect to person or property, or in the exercise of their commerce or industry, to the payment of taxes, general or local, of imposts, or of whatever other impositions or charges, higher than those which are or may hereafter be collected from the natives themselves.

Art. VI. The liberty of religious faith and the open exercise of their worship shall be assured to the persons belonging to the jurisdiction of each of the contracting states in the territory of the other and no restraint shall be imposed either upon the ecclesiastical organization of the different communions or upon their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

Foreign Relations, 1880, page 43.

[*Mr. Kasson to Mr. Evarts.*] [43]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

VIENNA, March 31, 1879.

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Sir.—The Jewish question in Servia presents no longer a reason

[43] Foreign Relations, 1879, page 59.

for delay in the full diplomatic recognition of her independence. Prior to the annexation of territory, secured to her by the congress of Berlin, the number of Jews in Servia was about 1200. The annexations brought in about 800 more. The former Jewish population (1200) was chiefly composed of the descendants of an old colony of Spanish Jews, who still preserve the Spanish language among themselves. They have long enjoyed full political rights; but their right of residence has always been confined to four towns along the Danube; and they have not the right to hold real estate. The new Jewish population (say 800) coming with the annexed Turkish territory, were, on the contrary, free from this restriction. It was easy, therefore, for the Servians to determine that their old population of this race must not have less right than the aliens just brought within their jurisdiction. Pursuant to the provisions of their constitution, an amendment of the instrument requires the sanction of two ordinary skuptschinas and final adoption by the grand skuptschina specially assembled therefor. The first two sanctions have already been given, and for the third the grand skuptschina will be summoned probably in the early summer. This body is four times as numerous as the ordinary legislature; and there is said to be in Servia no building large enough to serve them as a hall for the meeting. So the government must at least accommodate them in the open air with a favorable season. No doubt at all is entertained of their ratification of the act abolishing the discriminations against the Jews.

JOHN A. KASSON.

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The famous "Roumanian note" of 1902 is well known and has been frequently printed. Although as yet not fruitful of results it was in many aspects the most notable action ever taken by our Government on behalf of the Jews and I present here correspondence prior and subsequent to this note bearing upon its general subject matter.

[*Mr. Hay to Mr. Wilson.*] [44]

(Confidential.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 17, 1902.

Sir.—Your legation's dispatch No. 19, of the 13th of February

[44] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 910.

last, reported having submitted to the Roumanian Government, through its diplomatic representative in Greece, as the outcome of conferences had by Mr. Francis, with him on the subject. A tentative draft of the naturalization convention on the lines of the draft previously submitted to the Servian Government and Mr. Francis added that his excellency the Roumanian minister had informed him of his hearty approval of the project, which he had forwarded to his Government with his unqualified indorsement. Minister Francis was instructed on March 4 that his action was approved. No report of progress has since been received from your legation, but it is presumed that the matter is receivng the consideration due to its importance.

For its part the Government of the United States regards the conclusion of conventions of this character as of the highest value, because not only establishing and recognizing the right of the citizens of the foreign state to expatriate themselves voluntarily, and acquire the citizenship of this country, but also because establlshing beyond the pale of doubt the absolute equality of such naturalized persons, with native citizens of the United States in all that concerns their relation to or intercourse with the country of their former allegiance.

The right of citizens of the United States to resort to and transact affairs of business or commerce in another country, without molestation or disfavor of any kind, is set forth in the general treaties of amity and commerce which the United States have concluded with foreign nations, thus declaring what this Government holds to be a necessary feature of the mutual intercourse of civilized nations and confirming the principles of equality, equity, and comity which underlie their relations to one another. This right is not created by treaties; it is recognized by them as a necessity of national existence, and we apply the precept to other countries, whether it be conventionally declared or not, as fully as we expect its extension to us.

In some instances, other governments, taking a less broad view, regard the rights of intercourse of alien citizens as not extending to their former subjects who may have acquired another nationality. So far as this position is founded on national sovereignty and asserts a claim to the allegiance and service of the subject not to be extinguished save by the consent of the sovereign, it finds precedent and warrant which it is immaterial to the purpose of this instruction to discuss. Where such a claim exists, it becomes the province of a naturalization convention to adjust it on a ground of common advantage, substituting the general sanction of treaty for the individual permission of expatriation

and recognizing the subject who may have changed allegiance as being on the same plane with the natural or native citizens of the other contracting state.

Some States, few in number, be it said, make distinction between different classes of citizens of the foreign State, denying to some the rights of innocent intercourse and commerce, which by comity and natural right are accorded to the stranger, and doing this without regard to the origin of the persons adversely affected. One country in particular, although maintaining with the United States a treaty which unqualifiedly guarantees to citizens of this country the rights of visit, sojourn, and commerce of the Empire, yet assumes to prohibit those rights to Hebrew citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized. This Government can lose no opportunity to controvert such a distinction, wherever it may appear. It cannot admit such discrimination among its own citizens, and can never assent that a foreign State, of its own volition, can apply a religious test to debar any American citizen from the favor due to all.

There is no treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Roumania, but this Government is pleased to believe that Roumania follows the precepts of comity in this regard as completely and unreservedly as we ourselves do, and that the American in Roumania is as welcome and as free in matters of sojourn and commerce and legal resorts as the Roumanian is in the United States. We hear no suggestion that any differential treatment of our citizens is there imposed. No religious test is known to bar an American from resorting to Roumania for business or pleasure. No attempt has been made to set up any such test in the United States whereby any American citizen might be denied recourse to the representatives of Roumania in order to authenticate documents necessary to the establishment of his legal rights or the furtherance of his personal interests in Roumania. And in welcoming negotiations for a convention of naturalization Roumania gives proof of her desire to confirm all American citizens in their inherently just rights.

Another consideration of cognate character presents itself. In the absence of a naturalization convention, some few states hold self-expatriation without the previous consent of the sovereign to be punishable, or to entail consequences indistinguishable from banishment. Turkey, for instance, only tacitly assents to the expatriation of Ottoman subjects so long as they remain outside Turkish jurisdiction. Should they return thereto their acquired alienship is ignored. Should they seek to cure the matter by asking permission to be naturalized abroad, consent is coupled

with the condition of non-return to Turkey. It is the object of a naturalization convention to remedy this feature by placing the naturalized alien on a parity with the natural born citizen and according him due recognition as such. This consideration gives us added satisfaction that negotiations on the subject have been auspiciously inaugurated with Roumania. If I have mentioned this aspect of the matter, it is in order that the two Governments may be in accord as to the bases of their agreement in this regard; for it is indispensable that the essential purpose of the proposed convention should not be impaired or perverted by any coupled condition of banishment imposed independently by the act of either contracting party.

The United States welcomes now, as it has welcomed from the foundation of its Government, the voluntary immigration of all aliens coming hither under conditions fitting them to become merged in the body politic of this land. Our laws provide the means for them to become incorporated indistinguishably in the mass of citizens, and prescribe their absolute equality with the native born, guaranteeing to them equal civil rights at home and equal protection abroad. The conditions are few looking to their coming as free agents, so circumstances physically and morally as to supply the healthful and intelligent material of free citizenhood. The pauper, the criminal, the contagiously or incurably diseased are excluded from the benefits of emigration only when they are likely to become a source of danger or a burden upon the community. The voluntary character of their coming is essential; hence we shut out all immigration assisted or constrained by foreign agencies. The purpose of our generous treatment of the alien immigrant is to benefit us and him alike—not to afford to another state a field upon which to cast its own objectionable elements. A convention of naturalization may not be construed as an instrument to facilitate any such process. The alien, coming here voluntarily and prepared to take upon himself the preparatory, and in due course the definitive obligations of citizenship, retains thereafter in domestic and international relations, the initial character of free agency, in the full enjoyment of which it is incumbent upon his adoptive state to protect him.

The foregoing considerations whilst pertinent to the examination of the purpose and scope of a naturalization treaty, have a larger aim. It behooves the State to scrutinize most jealously the character of the immigration from a foreign land, and, if it be obnoxious to objection, to examine the causes which render it so. Should those causes originate in the act of another sovereign

State, to the detriment of its neighbors, it is the prerogative of an injured State, to point out the evil and to make remonstrance; for with nations, as with individuals, the social law holds good that the right of each is bounded by the right of the neighbor.

The condition of a large class of the inhabitants of Roumania has for many years been a source of grave concern to the United States. I refer to the Roumanian Jews, numbering some 400,000. Long ago, while the Danubian principalities labored under oppressive conditions which only war and a general action of the European powers sufficed to end, the persecution of the indigenous Jews under Turkish rule called forth in 1872 the strong remonstrance of the United States. The treaty of Berlin was hailed as a cure for the wrong in view of the express provisions of its forty-fourth article, prescribing that "in Roumania the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admissions to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever," and stipulating freedom in the exercise of all forms of worship to Roumanian dependents and foreigners alike, as well as guaranteeing that all foreigners in Roumania shall be treated, without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality.

With the lapse of time these just prescriptions have been rendered nugatory in great part, as regards the native Jews, by the legislation and municipal regulations of Roumania. Starting from the arbitrary and controvertible premises that the native Jews of Roumania domiciled there for centuries are "aliens not subject to foreign protection," the ability of the Jew to earn even the scanty means of existence that suffice for a frugal race has been constricted by degrees, until nearly every opportunity to win a livelihood is denied; and until the helpless poverty of the Jew has constrained an exodus of such proportions as to cause general concern.

The political disabilities of the Jews in Roumania, their exclusion from the public service and the learned professions, the limitations of their civil rights, and the imposition upon them of exceptional taxes, involving as they do wrongs repugnant to the moral sense of liberal modern peoples, are not so directly in point for my present purpose as the public acts which attack the inherent right of man as a breadwinner in the ways of agriculture and trade. The Jews are prohibited from owning land, or even from cultivating it as common laborers. They are debarred from

residing in the rural districts. Many branches of petty trade and manual production are closed to them in the overcrowded cities where they are forced to dwell and engage, against fearful odds, in the desperate struggle for existence. Even as ordinary artisans or hired laborers they may only find employment in the proportion of one "unprotected alien" to two "Roumanians" under any one employer. In short, by the cumulative effect of successive restrictions, the Jews of Roumania have become reduced to a state of wretched misery. Shut out from nearly every avenue of self-support which is open to the poor of other lands, and ground down by poverty as the natural result of their discriminatory treatment, they are rendered incapable of lifting themselves from the enforced degradation they endure. Even were the fields of education open to them, of civil employment and of commerce, as to "Roumanian citizens," their penury would prevent rising by individual effort. Human beings so circumstanced have virtually no alternatives but submissive suffering or flight to some land less unfavorable to them. Removal under such conditions is not and cannot be the healthy, intelligent emigration of a free and self-reliant being. It must be, in most cases, the mere transplantation of an artificially produced diseased growth to a new place.

Granting that in better and more healthful surroundings the morbid conditions will eventually change for good, such emigration is necessarily for a time a burden to the community upon which the fugitives may be cast. Self-reliance and the knowledge and ability that evolve the power of self-support must be developed, and at the same time avenues of employment must be opened in quarters where competition is already keen and opportunities scarce. The teachings of history and the experience of our own nation show that the Jews possess in a high degree the mental and moral qualifications of conscientious citizenhood. No class of emigrants is more welcome to our shores when coming equipped and inspired with the high purpose to give the best service of heart and brain to the land they adopt of their own free will. But when they come as outcasts, made doubly paupers by physical and moral oppression in their native land, and thrown upon the long suffering generosity of a more-favored community, their migration lacks the essential conditions which make alien immigration either acceptable or beneficial. So well is this appreciated on the Continent that, even in the countries where antisemitism has no foothold, it is difficult for these fleeing Jews to obtain any lodgment. America is their only goal.

The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands.

But its sympathy with them in nowise impairs its just liberty and right to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effects upon this country, and to judge accordingly.

Putting together the facts now painfully brought home to this Government, during the past few years, that many of the inhabitants of Roumania are being forced by artificially adverse discriminations to quit their native country; that the hospitable asylum offered by this country is almost the only refuge left to them; that they come hither unfitted by the conditions of their exile to take part in the new life of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves or beneficial to the community, and that they are objects of charity from the outset and for a long time—the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Roumanian Government is clearly established in favor of this Government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States. This Government cannot be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulation of the treaty of Berlin, to which it was not and cannot become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles consigned therein, because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfillment thereof by its cosignatories, for the act of Roumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard.

Occupying this ground and maintaining these views, it behooves us to see that in concluding a naturalization convention no implication may exist of obligation on the part of the United States to receive and convert these unfortunates into citizens, and to eliminate any possible inference of some condition or effect tantamount to banishment from Roumania, with inhibition of return or imposition of such legal disability upon them by reason of their creed, as may impair their interests in that country or operate to deny them judicial remedies there which all American citizens may justly claim in accordance with the law and comity of nations.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

[*Mr. Wilson to Mr. Hay.*] [45]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ATHENS, August 8, 1902.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 14, Roumanian series, dated July 17, 1902, relative to the proposed naturalization treaty between the United States and Roumania.

Since the draft of the treaty approved by the Department was submitted to the Roumanian minister for foreign affairs nothing further has been accomplished, as the Roumanian Government refused to consider the project favorably.

Upon the receipt of your dispatch, I called upon the Roumanian minister to Greece, who has within a few days returned from Roumania, and asked him if his Government, after examination, had found the draft of the naturalization treaty submitted to it acceptable.

Mr. Ghica told me that just before leaving Bucharest he had a long audience with the King, during most of which relations with the United States were discussed. His Majesty told Mr. Ghica that he considered a naturalization treaty between the United States and Roumania unnecessary, and that he did not favor considering the matter at all. Upon my endeavoring to point out to Mr. Ghica that, in our opinion, such a treaty would be of great advantage to both countries, he said that he would be perfectly frank with me and tell me the real objection that the King had expressed against the proposed treaty.

According to His Majesty's opinion, a naturalization treaty would be most injurious to Roumania for the reason that it would complicate the already troublesome Jewish question in that country.

As you stated in your dispatch on this subject, on account of discrimination against them a large number of Roumanian Jews are driven from Roumania and a majority of them take refuge in America. If, therefore, there was a naturalization treaty, these Jews would return to Roumania and as American citizens claim rights and privileges to which they were not before emigration entitled. The King also fears that with a naturalization treaty between the two countries an even larger number of Jews would emigrate to America, and for the express purpose of returning to Roumania and claiming protection as American citizens.

I expressed to Mr. Ghica my regret that the United States and Roumania had been unable to conclude any of the proposed

[45] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 914.

treaties, and expressed the hope that he would use his efforts to bring about a favorable consideration of the naturalization treaty, but as he assured me that the ministry and members of the Government shared the unwillingness of the King to consider such a treaty, I have not communicated with the Roumanian minister for foreign affairs, and shall await further instructions from the Department before so doing. * * *

CHARLES L. WILSON,
Chargé d' Affaires ad interim.

[*Mr. Hay to Mr. McCormick.*] [46]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, August 11, 1902.

Sir.—In the course of an instruction recently sent to the minister accredited to the Government of Roumania in regard to the bases of negotiation begun with that Government looking to a convention of naturalization between the United States and Roumania, certain considerations were set forth for the minister's guidance concerning the character of the emigration from that country, the causes which constrain it, and the consequences so far as they adversely affect the United States.

It has seemed to the President appropriate that these considerations, relating as they do to the obligations entered into by the signatories of the treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, should be brought to the attention of the Governments concerned and commended to their consideration in the hope that, if they are so fortunate as to meet the approval of the several powers, such measures as to them may seem wise may be taken to persuade the Government of Roumania to reconsider the subject of the grievances in question.

[*This dispatch continues to the end in the same wording as that of Mr. Hay's dispatch to Mr. Wilson of July 17, 1902, omitting the last paragraph and putting in its place the following:*]

You will take an early occasion to read this instruction to the minister for foreign affairs and, should he request it, leave with him a copy.

JOHN HAY.

Identical instructions were sent to representatives of the United States to France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Turkey.

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[46] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 42.

[*Mr. Adee to Mr. Wilson.*] [47]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 22, 1902.

Sir.—Referring to the Department's No. 14, of the 17th ultimo, Roumanian series, on the subject of the treatment of Jews in Roumania, I inclose for your confidential information a copy of an instruction which has been sent to the diplomatic representatives of the United States in the countries parties to the treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, in the hope that it may seem wise to those powers to take measures to persuade the Government of Roumania to accord to the indigenous Jews, the generous and equal treatment prescribed for them by the Berlin treaty.

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary.

[*Mr. Leishman to Mr. Hay.*] [48]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 26, 1902.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your unnumbered instruction of August 12, 1902.

I shall lose no time in acquainting the Sublime Porte with the contents of the circular instruction therein contained which deals with the situation of the Jews in Roumania.

JOHN G. A. LEISHMAN.

[*Mr. White to Mr. Hay.*] [49]

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES,

BERLIN, August 26, 1902.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the due receipt of your printed instruction of the 11th instant, relative to the treatment of Jews in the Kingdom of Roumania, and to inform you that in compliance therewith the contents of the same were communicated to Baron von Richthofen, the imperial secretary of state for foreign affairs (who has just returned to Berlin and resumed charge at the foreign office), and a copy of the same left with

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[47] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 915.
[48] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 1048.
[49] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 442.

him this afternoon. Baron Richthofen said that he would "give the matter such consideration as its importance deserves."

For Ambassador White:

JOHN B. JACKSON,
Secretary of Embassy.

[*Mr. Choate to Mr. Hay.*] [50]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
LONDON, September 3, 1902.

Sir.—With reference to your separate instruction of the 11th ultimo on the subject of the condition of the Jews in Roumania, I have the honor to inclose herewith a note which I have received from the foreign office, stating that His Majesty's Government join with the Government of the United States in deploring the depressed condition of the Roumanian Jews and in regarding with apprehension the results of their enforced emigration, and that His Majesty's Government will place themselves in communication with the other powers signatory of the treaty of Berlin, with a view to a joint representation to the Roumanian Government on the subject.

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

[*Mr. Bertie to Mr. Choate.*] [51]

FOREIGN OFFICE,
September 2, 1902.

Your Excellency.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 23d ultimo, inclosing a copy of a dispatch from Mr. Secretary Hay on the subject of the conditions of the Jews in Roumania.

His Majesty's Government joins with the United States Government in deploring the depressed condition of the Roumanian Jews and in regarding with apprehension the results of their enforced emigration.

His Majesty's Government will place themselves in communication with the other powers signatory of the treaty of Berlin, with a view to a joint representation to the Roumanian Government on the subject.

FRANCIS BERTIE.
(*In the absence of the Marquis of Lansdowne.*)

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[50] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 549.
[51] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 550.

[*Mr. Idings to Mr. Hay.*] [52]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
ROME, September 6, 1902.

Sir.—Referring to your unnumbered instruction of August 12 last, and to the Department's circular of August 11, I have the honor to report that, as directed, I have to-day shown to the minister for foreign affairs the communication concerning the treatment of Jews in Roumania, and at his request left a copy of the same with him.

LEWIS MORRIS IDDINGS.

[*Mr. Porter to Mr. Hay.*] [53]

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES,
PARIS, September 26, 1902.

Sir.—Your printed circular relative to the Jews of Roumania was duly received and availing myself of the authorization given me by your unnumbered instruction of August 12, I left a copy of it with Mr. Delcasse.

The next time I saw him he spoke of the circular, and said he had read it with interest, and asked several questions about the emigrants of the class referred to coming to the United States.

He did not give any expression of his views, the subject not having yet been officially considered.

Our Government persisted in the matter as is indicated by the following series of dispatches.

[*Mr. Hay to Mr. Jackson.*] [53]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 5, 1903.

Sir.—The Department's instruction, No. 14, of July 17 last (Roumanian series), to your predecessor, presented for his guidance in the negotiation of a naturalization treaty with Roumania, certain considerations having special reference to the Jews in that country.

The refusal of the Roumanian King, reported in Mr. Wilson's unnumbered dispatch of August 6 last (Roumanian series) to

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[52] Foreign Relations, 1902, page 684.
[53] Foreign Relations, 1903, page 702.

consider the project of a naturalization treaty with the United States, made that instruction ineffective.

With its No. 15, of August 23 last, same series, the Department inclosed, for the legation's information, a copy of a circular instruction which it addressed, on August 11, 1902, to the diplomatic representatives of the United States, to the governments, parties to the treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, and which they were directed to bring to the attention of the governments concerned and to commend to their consideration, in the hope that they would take such measures as to them might seem wise to persuade the Government of Roumania to reconsider the subject of the grievances of Jews in that country.

It is the President's desire that you should, on your first visit to Roumania, discreetly and cautiously endeavor to learn whether the considerations so presented to them have resulted in any representations to the Roumanian Government by the powers, either separately or jointly, looking to the amelioration of the oppressed condition of the Roumanian Jews in the observance of the principles of the Berlin treaty.

The matter is one in which the President has deep interest, and the Department would be pleased to have you furnish it with all information in this regard which you may be able to confidentially gather.

JOHN HAY.

[*Mr. Jackson to Mr. Hay.*] [54]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ATHENS, March 21, 1903.

Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, on the 19th instant, of your instruction No. 1, Roumanian series, of March 5.

It so happened that I was in charge of our embassy at Berlin at the time the Department's circular instruction of August 11 last was received, and consequently it fell to me to communicate its contents to the German foreign office. If I remember correctly, Baron Richthofen said that the matter would receive the attention which its importance warranted, or words to that effect. Subsequently I understood that immediately after the same instruction had been communicated to the foreign office at London, the British Government, without in any way making known its own views contained therein, had addressed a communication to the other Governments which were parties to the Berlin treaty

[54] Foreign Relations, 1903, page 702.

of 1878, inquiring what they proposed doing in the matter. So far as I am aware, however, no action was taken by any of these Governments, and the contents of the circular were never formally brought to the attention of the Roumanian Government.

Situated as the country is, between powerful and ambitious neighbors, the efforts of the Roumanian Government have been directed toward keeping the race pure and developing a homogeneous patriotic Roumanian nationality. The Jewish question is one with which Roumania has had to do ever since it became a State, and the course adopted was that which was considered necessary in order to enable it to maintain its independent national existence. Foreigners have never acquired Roumanian nationality merely through having been born in the country, and as long ago as 1878 a commission of deputies appointed to study the question reported that "Roumanian Jews have never existed, but only indigenous Jews—that is to say, Jews born in Roumania without, for that reason resembling Roumanians either by language, manners and customs, or aspiration."

Prior to the recognition of Roumania as a kingdom its constitution contained the provision that "Foreigners of Christian denominations can alone obtain naturalization," both Jews and Mohammedans being excluded. In 1880, as a result of the Berlin treaty, this was changed and naturalization was placed within the reach of all "foreigners," provided that they could satisfy the legislative body of their acceptability. Under these conditions Roumania was recognized as a kingdom, although it was stated in the British note of February 20, 1880, that——

Her Majesty's Government cannot consider the new constitutional provisions which have been brought to their cognizance, and particularly those by which persons belonging to a non-Christian creed domiciled in Roumania and not belonging to any foreign nationality are required to submit to the formalities of individual naturalization, as being a complete fulfillment of the views of the powers signatories of the treaty of Berlin.

As shown, however, by the recently published life and correspondence of Sir Silliman White (John Murray, London, 1902), the difficulties connected with granting political rights (as far as religious rights are concerned there was no question) at one time to at least 300,000 persons, who had traditionally been considered as aliens were recognized by the powers. Even those Governments which took an interest in the Jews refrained from using any great amount of pressure, and matters were allowed to assume their present condition.

Practically, it is hardly to be expected that the powers will show any more zeal than they did twenty-odd years ago, and it will not be probable that success would accompany an effort to introduce into Roumania, by means of foreign pressure, legislative changes which are unacceptable to the country itself. Neither the King nor the Government has the power to change existing conditions, legislative action being necessary in the case of the naturalization of any foreigner, no matter of what race or religion, and I have heard it stated that foreign interference has already had an unfavorable effect.

While adding that I plan visiting Bucharest at an early date, and that I shall use my best efforts to inform myself in the premises, I have, etc.,

JOHN B. JACKSON.

[*Mr. Jackson to Mr. Hay.*] [55]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ATHENS, April 18, 1903.

Sir.—Referring to my dispatch No. 7, Roumanian series, of the 21st ultimo, I have the honor to report that, after inquiry on the spot, I am still of the opinion that no official representations were made to the Roumanian Government by any of the powers concerned, as a result of the Department's circular instruction of August 11, 1902. During my recent visit to Bucharest no direct reference was made to the Jewish question in official circles, either at the palace, or the foreign office, or in the course of my conversation with Mr. Sturdza. I talked of the matter freely, however, with my diplomatic colleagues and others. My conviction that Germany had made no representations was made a certainty, and I learned that neither France nor Great Britain had taken any formal action. Of late, as heretofore, both at the palace and at the foreign office, the British and French ministers have referred to the subject informally; the former thinks that the instruction was productive of good, the latter thinks that it was not. As a matter of fact, although there were a number of Jewish naturalization cases acted upon in each of the houses of the Roumanian legislative body, during its recent session, only a very few—say three or four—were finally dealt with by both.

* * * In Bucharest itself the Jewish quarter of the city is relatively clean and attractive, and everywhere one sees signs over shops bearing unmistakeably Jewish names. Jewish law-

[55] Foreign Relations, 1903, page 704.

yers and doctors occupying good positions are also to be found, it is true only in limited numbers, and these usually actual foreign subjects, and everything seems to indicate that the prejudice is neither against the race nor the individual, but is based upon the genuine fear as to what would result from general naturalization. That the situation of the Jews in Roumania is regrettable cannot be denied, but no less can it be denied that their sufferings have been exaggerated. The fact that the place of every emigrant is at once filled by immigration from Galicia, Poland, and Russia speaks for itself. The Government does not favor emigration because as a general rule, the more competent Jews leave and their places are taken by less intelligent people. As a Jassy shop-keeper, who was closing up his business, recently said to an English merchant of whom he had formerly been a good customer, "There are too many of us here for it to be possible for me to make any money." In parts of Moldavia 60 per cent of the population are Jews, most of whom, it is said, use the Yiddish (corrupt German) language, and speak but little Roumanian.

JOHN B. JACKSON.

[*Mr. Jackson to Mr. Hay.*] [56]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
SINAIA, Roumania, September 7, 1903.

Sir.—I have the honor to report that in conversation yesterday Mr. Sturdza, the Roumanian prime minister, spoke at length about the circular "note" of August 11, 1902, and the Jewish question. He said that there were two kinds of Jews in Roumania, the Spanish Jews who are of a higher class, and the Jews who are principally found in Moldavia (and the neighboring parts of Austria and Russia) who he claimed are not Israelites at all, but Mongols, who were converted many centuries ago. There were few of this kind in what is now Roumania prior to 1828, and most of those who were in the country up to that time enjoyed either Austrian or Russian protection. Before the treaty of Paris no Jew, Turk, or Armenian could own real estate in the country. In the meantime, however, the Armenians had become Roumanianized, and there was no objection to the change, which was made in 1856, which enabled any Christian to do so. Later, at the time when the country became independent, a further change was made and any "Roumanian" obtained the right to

[56] Foreign Relations, 1903, page 704.

hold land. Ultimately, after the treaty of Berlin of 1878, the complete independence of Roumania was recognized by the European powers. At that time, there were practically no American interests in the country, yet the United States saw fit to recognize its independence of its own accord in 1880 and to send a diplomatic representative (Mr. Eugene Schuyler) to reside in Roumania. This action was greatly appreciated at the time, and it has not been forgotten. Since that time, however, Roumania has no longer been under the tutelage of the treaty powers, and now she does not recognize their right to intervene. * * * Mr. Sturdza said that now that I had seen something of Roumania and the Roumanians, and now that they had become acquainted with me he was ready to inform me as to his position. He said at first that Roumania had not liberated herself from Turkish sovereignty in order to accept that of the Jews; that she had powerful neighbors and must do everything possible to maintain and develop her own nationality. He said that to grant were considered advisable, would necessitate a change in the constitution, and he was not in favor of frequent changes in a thing political rights or to naturalize the Jews *en masse*, even if this which should be of a permanent and more or less sacred character. He said that absolutely no question of religious prejudice had become Roumanians and been naturalized had attained political prominence under both liberal and conservative governments. He referred to one instance where he and other was involved and cited a number of instances where Jews, who ministers had attended a wedding in the synagogue at Bucharest " in dress clothes and with decorations because of respect for the man whose daughter was being married." He said, however, that the mass of the Jews did not regard themselves as Roumanians; that they spoke of belonging to the Jewish nation and considered themselves as of a superior race to the Christians, and that they had their own customs, language, and ambitions, and neither would nor could assimilate with the native Roumanians. They wanted to become naturalized, or rather naturalization was wanted for them, in order that they might secure political rights and own land. Moreover, it is not merely a question of the Jews already in Roumania, as for many reasons their position here is much better than that of their coreligionists in Austria and Russia, and if existing restrictions were to be removed there would be a great influx from those countries. In Roumania there is not the least religious persecution, there have been no massacres, and passports are not necessary to enable one to travel inside the country. Jews generally are not allowed to live in

rural districts because experience has shown that they rarely if ever become actual farm laborers, but wish to exploit such laborers, as overseers, etc., to keep inns and drinking places.

After this general statement Mr. Sturdza went on to describe the special circumstances which led to the increased emigration of Jews a few years ago. He said that the Government had never favored such emigration and it had no wish to drive the Jews out of the country. The emigration, he said, was due to bad times, which prevailed for various reasons, but principally on account of drought and failure of crops. For more than a year the laboring population of Roumania was unable to support itself. The Government and the owners of private estates did all that was possible, but there was a great deal of suffering. The bad times were felt particularly in the cities, as building practically stopped, and as the people had no money to spend in the shops. Naturally, many people thought of emigrating, especially among the Jews, who had few local attachments, and soon this emigration was given a political character. Instead of going by rail the Jews began making demonstrative marches through the country, singing and otherwise disturbing the peace. Many of them were not permitted to go further than Budapest and Vienna, and many suffered greatly, but more or less unnecessarily. In the case of those who were turned back, however, the Roumanian Government repatriated them at its own expense, spending several hundred thousand francs for the purpose. The country was in financial straits at the time and certain foreign influences were brought to bear in order to discredit it generally. Had it been forced to grant political rights to the Jews, many Roumanians would have been forced to sell their mortgaged estates, but the situation of the Jews in Roumania, especially the poorer classes, would not have been materially improved.

During the last summer I have travelled more or less about the country and have visited Jassy, Berlad, Galatz, Braila, and other cities and done my best to inform myself as to the exact situation. * * * The general feeling is that the naturalization of Jews must be a gradual matter—as they become educated up to being Roumanians.

JOHN B. JACKSON.

This rather melancholy series of dispatches at least gives us the satisfactory assurance that our Government for many years past has, as far as lay in its power, done its duty in the matter of full protection to its own citizens and in urging the

claims of humanity on behalf of citizens or subjects of other states who are persecuted or outraged.

The efforts of the late Mr. B. F. Peixoitto were along similar lines. How futile they were we all know. How completely the Roumanian Government broke faith with the nations of the earth is a matter of which none need to be reminded. If they do require such a reminder it will be found in the diplomatic note referred to above, addressed by Secretary Hay, on August 11, 1902, to the signatories of the Berlin treaty. The note is based almost exclusively upon the effect to the United States which resulted from the unjust treatment of the Jews in Roumania, though Mr. Hay asserts that "this Government cannot be an outside party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity."

This note has been without immediate effect and the correspondence of our present Minister to Athens, who is also accredited to Bucharest, is not of an edifying character. His duties at Athens and other places probably did not allow him to spend enough time in Roumania to become acquainted with the conditions there himself, and in the dispatches he made himself the mouthpiece of the court circle. This condition of affairs will be remedied in the near future. Congress has, at the recommendation of the President, provided for a legation at Bucharest. It is profoundly to be hoped that the person appointed to this mission, the first one holding the position of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Roumania, will have the clear-sightedness to ascertain the conditions there for himself aside from the statements that he will receive from the court circle, and the force to impress upon Roumania the views of the United States and of the civilized world as to her breach of faith. Roumania herself a country long subjected to persecutions

and oppression, freed by the act of other nations and the joint agreement of Europe; erected into a sovereign state upon the condition of equal treatment to all, should without coercion, from a sense of shame if not of obligation, have wiped every inequality from her statute book and her legislative, executive and judicial procedure.

RUSSIA.

The present study and collection naturally grew out of the question of the American passport in Russia and so voluminous is the correspondence upon this single point that I can hardly hope to do more than give a very brief summary. I take the liberty of referring anyone interested in more details than it is possible to present here to the compilation which I prepared for the American Jewish Year Book for 1904-5.

The first dispatch, specifically relating to the Jews of Russia, is one from Mr. Eugene Schuyler addressed to Mr. Fish, March 15, 1875, in which he encloses a report of Mr. V. Grigorieff, member of a Commission for the Improvement of the Life of the Hebrews, on the question of their place of residence. Mr. Schuyler, in presenting the report, says that it is to be hoped that the Commission will devise some method for relieving the ignorance and distress which certainly exist among the Hebrews of the Eastern provinces.

The memorandum which Mr. Schuyler transmitted was highly unfavorable to the Jews, and one can hardly see why it should have been forwarded with but the slight comment he made, and why it should have been enshrined in our Foreign Relations.

The first case which arose concerning the rights of an American citizen was described in the dispatch of Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Evarts, dated May 29, 1879. A Mr. Rosenstrauss, a naturalized citizen desired to hold real estate in Russia. Our consul, by the name of Edwards, informed Mr. Rosenstrauss that the treaty in force between the United States

and Russia gave him no rights in addition to those held or enjoyed by Russian subjects of like faith. This case does not seem to have been a very favorable one. Rosenstrauss was practically permanently settled at Kharkoff and was making no return whatever for the protection he claimed from the United States.

On April 4, 1880, Secretary Evarts wrote to Mr. Foster at St. Petersburg, referring to the letter of Messrs. Simon Wolf and A. S. Solomons, representing the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and pointing out that the Jews in Russia had been subjected by the Government there to extreme hardships. The view of the Department is expressed in the following terms:

[*Mr. Evarts to Mr. Foster.*] [57]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 14, 1880.

Sir.—I have received a letter from Messrs. S. Wolf and A. S. Solomons, of this city, representing the "Union of American Hebrew Congregations," in which they refer to newspaper statements indicating that the Jews in Russia have recently been subjected by the government there to extraordinary hardships, and expressing a desire that the minister of the United States to St. Petersburg may be instructed to "make such representations to the Czar's government, in the interests of religious freedom and suffering humanity, as will best accord with the most emphasized liberal sentiments of the American people." The writers of the letter observe at the same time that they are well "aware of the impropriety of one nation interfering with the internal affairs of another in matters of a purely local character."

You are sufficiently well informed of the liberal sentiments of this government to perceive that whenever any pertinent occasion may arise its attitude must always be in complete harmony with the principle of extending all rights and privileges, without distinction on account of creed, and cannot fail, therefore, to conduct any affair of business or negotiation with the government to which you are accredited, which may involve any expression

[57] Foreign Relations, 1880, page 873.

of the views of this government on this subject, in a manner which will subserve the interests of religious freedom. It would, of course, be inadmissible for the Government of the United States to approach the Government of Russia in criticism of its laws and regulations, except so far as such laws and regulations may injuriously affect citizens of this country, in violation of natural rights, treaty obligations, or the provisions of international law, but it is desired that the attitude of the minister, as regards questions of diplomatic controversy, which involve an expression of view on this subject, may be wholly consistent with the theory on which this government was founded.

I am, sir,

WM. M. EVARTS.

And now begin a series of cases with regard to the expulsion of Jews who were naturalized American citizens. Some of the dispatches bearing on these are well worth quoting:

[*Mr. Evarts to Mr. Foster.*] [58]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, September 4, 1880.

Sir.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Hoffman's No. 23 of the 11th ultimo in the Pinkos case.

Notwithstanding the tenor of your No. 9 and of your note to the Department of July 24 last, as to the inexpediency of presently appealing to the Government of the Czar in the sense of the instruction of June 28 last, touching the expulsion of citizens of the United States from Russia (or certain cities thereof) by reason of their religious convictions, the statements of Mr. Hoffman's No. 23, of August 11 last, are such that the Government of the United States would seem indifferent to the cause of its citizens in Russia did it neglect to make immediate remonstrance as set forth in said instructions of June 28. Mr. Hoffman's inference from the facts connected with Mr. Pinkos' departure from Russia is that Mr. Pinkos had made up his mind that Russia "was no place for one of his creed."

If the meaning of this is that a citizen of the United States has been broken up in his business at St. Petersburg simply for the reason that he is a Jew rather than a believer in any other creed then it is certainly time for this government to express itself as

[58] Foreign Relations, 1880, page 880.

set forth in the instruction above mentioned. It should be made clear to the Government of Russia that in view of this government the religion professed by one of its citizens has no relation whatever to that citizen's right to the protection of the United States, and that in the eye of this government an injury officially dealt to Mr. Pinkos at St. Petersburg on the sole ground that he is a Jew, presents the same aspect that an injury officially done to a citizen of Russia in New York for the reason that he attends any particular church there, would to the view of His Majesty's Government.

It is evident that the losses incurred by the abandonment of his business in St. Petersburg will afford Mr. Pinkos ground for reclamation, if no other case can be shown for the official breaking up of his said business than the religious views he entertained.

The direct application to have Mr. Pinkos indemnified, however, may be deferred until he shall make it appear what those losses were.

WM. M. EVARTS.

[*Mr. Foster to Baron Jomini.*] [59]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, September 2-14, 1880.

Excellency.—The expulsion from this city of Henry Pinkos, a citizen of the United States, with the aggravating circumstances attending it, having been brought to the attention of my government, I have been instructed by the Secretary of State to make known to your excellency the views of my government thereon, and to protest against the treatment which said citizen has received.

Although the case has been heretofore brought to the attention of your excellency's department, it may be well to recall the facts attending it. In the month of April, last, before I assumed the charge of this legation, Henry Pinkos applied to the consul-general of the United States in this capital for relief from an order which he said he had received from the police authorities to leave St. Petersburg, the only reason for his expulsion, as he understood it, being that he was a Jew. He was provided with a passport fully authenticating his American citizenship. The consul-general, upon inquiry, was informed that he was an industrious and quiet tradesman, and with a wife and one child

[59] Foreign Relations, 1880, page 881.

had been residing in this city for some months. In the frequent interviews of the consul-general with the police authorities no charges or intimations were ever made that Pinkos was other than a peaceable and law-abiding resident.

The only relief which the consul-general and the chargé d'affaires of this legation could obtain from the police authorities was a suspension of a few days of the order of expulsion, until Mr. Hoffman was able to communicate with the foreign office and obtained through Mr. de Giers permission for Pinkos to remain for three months to enable him to close up his business. At the expiration of this period Pinkos, having sold his little property at a sacrifice, proceeded to obey the order, placed his baggage on board a vessel at Crondstadt, and when preparing to embark with his family he was asked by the police for his passport; whereupon he presented his American passport with which he had entered the country, with the police indorsement upon it ordering him to leave St. Petersburg, which he supposed was sufficient. The police informed him that this was not sufficient, and compelled him and his family to return to St. Petersburg. The captain of the vessel refused to refund him the passage money paid, and sailed without him, carrying off his luggage. Having obtained from the authorities the permission required by the police, finding himself penniless, he was indebted to private charity for the means to leave the country, which he has done in compliance with the original order referred to above.

While the order was in its form merely an expulsion from St. Petersburg, Mr. Pinkos understood it to be virtually an order to leave the empire, in view of the fact that similar measures had been taken in Moscow and other cities, and of the announcement in the public press, that foreign Jews were to be excluded from the country.

The Secretary of State instructs me to state to your excellency that in the presence of the fact that an American citizen has been ordered to leave Russia on no other ground than that he is the professor of a particular creed or the holder of certain religious views, it becomes the duty of the Government of the United States which impartially seeks to protect all of its citizens of whatever origin or faith, solemnly, but with all respect to the Government of His Imperial Majesty, to protest. As this order of expulsion is understood to apply to all foreign Jews, in certain cities or localities, at least, of Russia, it is, of course, apparent that the same is not directed specially against the government of which Mr. Pinkos is a citizen, and, indeed, the long-standing amity which has united the interests of Russia with those of the

Government of the United States would of itself forbid a remote suspicion that such might be the case. Notwithstanding this aspect of the matter the United States could not fail to look upon the expulsion of one of its citizens from Russia, on the simple ground of his religious ideas or convictions, except as a grievance, akin to that which Russia would doubtless find in the expulsion of one of her own subjects from the United States, on the ground of his attachment to the faith of his fathers.

It having been intimated to the Secretary of State by this legation that the reason of this order may be found in the supposed implication of Jews in the plots formed against the life of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, the Secretary directs me to say that in so far as this may be true, the Government of Russia has the entire sympathy of the Government of the United States, in all just preventive efforts, and if there exists any good evidence that Mr. Pinkos has been connected with any of these attempts, the Government of the United States could not object to this expulsion on that ground. But neither the police authorities in the several communications which the members of the consulate-general and this legation have had with them, in their efforts to obtain relief for Mr. Pinkos, nor your excellency's department, in the notes addressed to this legation on the subject, have ever intimated of the existence of such a charge. Nor does the character of citizens of the United States of Jewish faith afford ground for the supposition that they would be likely to engage in conspiracies or plots against the established government of the country.

From the foundation of the United States as a nation, they have been entitled to full and unrestricted privileges of citizens, and have shown themselves to be peaceable and law-observing in their conduct, quiet and industrious in their habits and are esteemed a valuable portion of the community, so that in so far as the regulation for the expulsion of foreign Jews from Russia affects American citizens, whatever may be the conduct of their co-religionists of this or other countries, it is an unjust reflection upon American Jews as a class and a discrimination which cannot be acquiesced in by my government.

As, then, it does not appear that any criminal or improper conduct has been established against Mr. Pinkos, the Secretary confidently submits to His Imperial Majesty's Government, whether in view of the fact that Mr. Pinkos has been interrupted in his peaceful occupations and expelled from Russia on the sole ground that his religious views are of one kind rather than another, he

is not justly entitled to make reclamation for the damage and loss to which he has been subjected.

In thus presenting, for consideration and appropriate action, the views of my government upon this important subject, I improve, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

[*Mr. Foster to Baron Jomini.*] [60]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, Oct. 7, 1880.

Excellency.—I beg to bring to your excellency's attention the following facts, as they have been reported to me by the legation of the United States at Berlin.

Mr. Marx Wilczynski, a citizen of the United States, is the agent of an American mercantile firm, and as such has much business in Russia. On his last visit to this country he was granted a passport by the American legation at Berlin, with which he entered Russian territory, observing the proper requirements in regard to passports and encountered no difficulty until he reached St. Petersburg, where he was not permitted by the police authorities to remain, for the reason that he was a Jew; and an indorsement to that effect was placed upon his passport. He states that when this order was served upon him he did not have time to apply to this legation for advice or assistance, and he has taken the first opportunity after his expulsion to resort to the nearest diplomatic representative for interposition in his behalf. The interests of the American mercantile firm which he represents require him to return to this country and this city. I enclose herewith the passport with which Mr. Wilczynski came to Russia, in order that your excellency may see the prohibitory order placed upon it by the police of this city. After due examination, I have to request that the passport may be returned to me.

It became my duty, in the note which I had the honor to address to your excellency on the 2d (14th) ultimo, in a case similar to the present one, to make known the views of my government in regard to the expulsion of one of its citizens simply for the reason that he was a Jew rather than a believer in any other creed; and I must again respectfully but solemnly protest against this new infringement upon the rights of American citizens and of the comity which should exist between friendly nations.

Your excellency will not fail to notice that the action of the

[60] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 992.

police authorities in the present case, as well as that of Mr. Pinkos bears the grave aspect of an interference with the reciprocal liberty of commerce, which is guaranteed by solemn treaty stipulations, and the development of which is so ardently desired by both countries.

On account of this new instance, it is regarded as important that it should be made clear to your excellency's government that in the view of the Government of the United States, the religion professed by one of its citizens has no relation whatever to that citizen's right to the protection of the United States; and that in the eye of my government an injury officially dealt to Mr. Wilczynski or Mr. Pinkos, in St. Petersburg, on the sole ground that they are Jews, presents the same aspect that an injury officially done to a subject of Russia in New York if he attends any particular church there, would to the view of His Majesty's Government.

I have, therefore, respectfully to request that Mr. Wilczynski may be freely permitted to return to Russia to prosecute his business engagements, and that the police authorities of St. Petersburg be instructed not to molest him in his lawful pursuits. In view of the exigencies which may require his early return, I venture to express the hope that it may be found convenient with an early reply to this request.

It is very gratifying to me to have this opportunity to reassure your excellency of my highest esteem and profound consideration.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

[*Mr. Foster to Mr. White.*] [61]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, October 18, 1880.

My dear Colleague.—I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, with which you inclose the passport of the American citizen, Marx Wilczynski, with the indorsement of the police of St. Petersburg, forbidding him to reside here, and you inquire whether such order can be rescinded and what rights American citizens of the Israelitish faith have in Russia.

The laws of Russia impose certain disabilities upon all Jews, among which is the prohibition against residence in St. Petersburg and certain other localities. In the past few years this prohibition has been repeatedly enforced against Americans of the Jewish faith, and acquiesced in by my predecessors. I was

[61] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 991.

thoroughly convinced of the injustice of the prohibition, but did not feel warranted in reversing the precedent set by my predecessors, without first referring the question to the Department. Secretary Evarts has instructed me in a recent case to protest against the expulsion of Jewish American citizens, and I have accordingly done so. I will repeat the protest whenever occasion requires, and endeavor to obtain relief for citizens of the United States; but whether the Russian Government will be influenced by my protest and endeavors remains to be seen.

In Mr. Wilczynski's case I will send the minister of foreign affairs a note protesting against the action of the police authorities and will ask that instructions be given to said authorities not to disturb him in his lawful pursuits in case he should return to this city.

It will not be safe, however, for Mr. Wilczynski to come to Russia until I shall have obtained an assurance from the minister that he can do so without interference on the part of the authorities. It may be some time before I can receive an answer from the minister, as the Emperor is now in Crimea, and General Melikoff, to whose department the subject pertains, is also temporarily absent from this city. In case Mr. W.'s business affairs should make it urgent that he have an early reply, you will please to inform me, and I will then consider the propriety of calling in person at the foreign office and pressing an early solution of the matter.

The prohibition against Jewish residence in St. Petersburg was not strictly enforced until the late Nihilistic movement caused an order to be issued expelling all foreign Jews. I am satisfied that sooner or later the Russian Government must modify or repeal its illiberal laws respecting the Jews, and I will lose no proper opportunity to do what I can to hasten that event; but it is very doubtful whether it will consider the present an opportune time.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

[*Mr. Hay to Mr. Foster.*] [62]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, October 22, 1880.

Sir.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Nos. 37 and 41, of the respective dates of the 16th and 21st ultimo, reporting your

[62] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 993.

action upon the recent instructions of the Department in the special case of Henry Pinkos, and upon the general subject of the expulsion of American citizens from Russian cities on no other ground than profession of the Hebrew faith.

Your course appears to have been discreet, and it is hoped that you will press your representations to the successful establishment of the principle of religious toleration for our citizens peacefully residing or travelling abroad, which we as a nation have such a deep interest in maintaining.

I am, etc.,

JOHN HAY,
Acting Secretary.

On December 1, 1880, Mr. de Giers wrote to Mr. Foster, claiming that the action in regard to the Pinkos case was in entire accord with Russian law, this being the substance of the entire dispatch, but the upshot was that Mr. Wilczynski was authorized to return to St. Petersburg and remain there six months.

[*Mr. Everett to Mr. Foster.*] [63]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
BERLIN, December 18, 1880.

Sir.—In Mr. White's absence I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 14th instant, returning Mr. Wilczynski's passport and stating that he would be allowed to stay six months if he returned there. At the time his old passport was sent to you Mr. Wilczynski took out a new one, and said that he should not have any difficulty in returning to St. Petersburg, and staying as long as he wished for business purposes, as he was personally known to high officials in some of the departments, with which he had transacted business for some years. But his grievance was that he was expelled, as he understood, for being a Jew, and he wished to ascertain whether there was such a law against Jews, and whether the American legation could not protect our citizens against it.

I have been informed by one of the Russian secretaries of legation here that there is no law in St. Petersburg expelling Jews merely because they are Jews; but that probably this gentleman had failed to comply with some regulation in his business trans-

[63] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1005.

actions, or had perhaps associated with some of the suspected characters in the city, or was one of the Polish refugees, who it appears are an obnoxious class there.

Mr. Wilczynski has not called at this legation again, and it is probable that he is now in Russia, as he expressed his intention of returning there very shortly.

With many thanks for the trouble you have taken in the matter, I am, etc..

H. SIDNEY EVERETT.

On December 30, 1880, Mr. Foster reports to Mr. Evarts a long conversation with Mr. de Giers, from which the following extract is made: "In the course of the conversation, I stated that while the object of the interview was to obtain proper recognition of the rights of American Jews, my Government took a great interest in the amelioration of the condition of the Jewish race in other countries, and I was satisfied that it would be highly gratified at the statement of the Minister that a Commission was now considering the question of the modification in a liberal sense of the Russian laws regarding the Jews. The experience of the United States had amply shown the wisdom of removing all discriminations against them in the laws, and of placing their race upon an equal footing with all other citizens."

Mr. Foster also reports a conversation with Gen. Melikoff, who explained to him that while Russia would be glad to give liberal treatment to bona-fide American citizens, not disguised German Jews, he saw no way of changing their laws, to which Mr. Foster replied that he was sorry to learn that these laws could not be repealed, adding that such a course would be much more in accordance with the views entertained by his Government and that it would be much more gratifying to it to see all the prohibitions against Jews, native as well as foreign, abolished.

Mr. Foster also described another conference in which our Chinese exclusion laws were cited against the American contention, and many reasons were given why the laws against the Jews could not be abrogated. This long dispatch ends

up with the statement that the Russian Government declined to accept the view of the Department that the treaty of 1832 concedes to American citizens of the Jewish faith no other or greater privileges than those enjoyed by Russian subjects of the same race. On the next day, December 31, 1880, Mr. Foster sent another long dispatch which follows:

[*Mr. Foster to Mr. Evarts.*] [64]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, December 31, 1880.

Sir.—In my No. 73 of yesterday I have given the result of my efforts to obtain a modification of the laws of Russia in regard to foreign Jews, so as to exempt American Jews from the prohibition against residence in St. Petersburg and other cities of the Empire. As a supplement to that dispatch, it may be of interest to have some information as to the condition and treatment of the Russian subjects of the Jewish faith.

From early times there have existed laws prohibiting the entrance or residence of Jews in Russia, and while there were occasional exceptions to the laws the prohibition was generally enforced with rigor up to the incorporation of Poland with the Empire. From that date it was sought to confine the Jews to the Polish provinces. But the Jews in these provinces furnished their full contingent, and, it is alleged by them, more than their ratio to the Russian army; and as it often happened that at the expiration of their term of service they were in different or distant parts of the Empire from their homes, upon their discharge they were permitted to live in the provinces where discharged, because they were old soldiers, and in spite of the laws prohibiting the residence there of Jews. The presence of the greater part of this race in other districts of Russian than Poland is accounted for in this way, they being either discharged soldiers or their children.

But in addition to these a considerable number of Jews are found in the large cities and commercial towns, many of whom are authorized to become permanent residents under exceptions which have been made to the prohibitory laws. For instance, Jews possessing a certain mercantile standing are admitted as members of the first or commercial guild, and with the authori-

[64] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1005.

zation of the law, engage in banking and mercantile pursuits. And these members of the guild are permitted to employ a certain number of Jewish clerks, servants, artisans, or other employés. So, also, exceptions are made in favor of members of the learned professions and graduates of the universities or other educational or scientific institutions. The latitude of constructions placed upon these exceptions depends very much upon the will of the local authorities, as also the strictness with which the prohibitory laws are enforced; so that in all the cities of Russia the number of Jewish residents will be found more or less in excess of the police registry and greater than the strict interpretation of the law authorizes. For instance, persons who have given the subject close attention as I stated to the minister of foreign affairs, estimate the number of Jewish residents in St. Petersburg at 30,000, while it is stated the number registered by the police authorities is 1,500. From the same source I learn that, while the government does not recognize their legal existence, nine synagogues in this city are known to the authorities, and that there are other private places of worship; and that, while only one Hebrew school is registered by the police, there are between three and four thousand children in unauthorized Jewish schools of this capital. As another indication of the extent of Jewish influence, it is worthy of note that one or more Jewish editors or writers are said to be employed on the leading newspapers of St. Petersburg and Moscow almost without exception. It is claimed that Jews of wealth, of established professions or occupations or of good social standing or influence, have little difficulty in securing express or tacit exemption from the laws.

These facts indicate that the laws proscribing the Jewish race are not enforced with great strictness; and intelligent Jewish residents of this city, native Russian subjects, who are laboring for the amelioration of the condition of their brethren, recognize the great advance which has been made during the present reign in the liberal construction which is placed upon the laws, in the exceptions which have been made tending to relax their vigor, and in the increased privileges which have been granted, such as admission to the universities, the practice of professions and avocations, and holding of government offices, denied to them a generation ago. At the same time the proscription laws remain, and the government reserves to itself the right to enforce them with strictness or relax them at its will.

It is to be noted that intelligent Russian Jews repel the charge that their race in this country have manifested a spirit of law-

lessness or hostility to the established government, and they deny that a greater proportion of Jews than of other classes have been complicated in the conspiracies or attempts upon the life of the Emperor, and in confirmation of their denial they point to the fact that of the sixteen persons who were arraigned last month in the state trials of the Nihilists only one was a Jew.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

And, on March 25, 1881, he writes to Mr. Blaine a dispatch which constituted an advance upon the previous dispatch.

[*Mr. Foster to Mr. Blaine.*] [65]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, March 25, 1881.

Sir.—In acknowledging the receipt of Department No. 55, of the 3d instant, I desire to express my thanks for the kindly commendation of my presentation of the cases of Pinkos and Wilczynski, and of the general question of the treatment of the Jews in Russia.

I make careful note of the desire manifested by the late honorable Secretary of State to appeal strongly to the treaty guarantee of personal freedom to American citizens sojourning peaceably, for business or pleasure, in Russia, without regard to their religious belief. I have constantly made this appeal in may conversations with and communications to the Russian authorities. But it will be noted in my No. 73, of December 30, that I called attention to the fact that the Russian government denies that the treaty of 1832 secures to American citizens of the Jewish faith so journing in Russia any other or greater privileges than those enjoyed in this empire by Russian subjects of the same faith. From the concluding sentence of Department No. 65, it would seem that the late Secretary's construction of the treaty was that American citizens in Russia were entitled to the same rights and personal freedom as are extended to Russian subjects sojourning in the United States. This interpretation has never as yet been presented to the Russian Government, nor has the treaty been so considered by my predecessors. If that view is to be insisted upon, I will thank you for specific instructions regarding this point. As stated in my No. 73, the laws imposing disabilities

[65] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1012.

upon Jews, both foreign and native, antedate the treaty of 1832, and the minister of foreign affairs claims that said treaty does not exempt American Jews coming here from their operation.

I have strongly insisted that the passport of his government should protect every peaceable American citizen coming to Russia, and that it is not proper to insttute inquiry as to the religious belief of such citizen. The Department is correct in the supposition indicated, that no American citizen has been convicted of Judaism by "judicial procedure." But it is to be borne in mind that in Russia it is not necessary that a judicial procedure should take place, or even the "military stage of sieze" exists, before a person undergoes the sentence of the law. The laws and regulations in question are usually intrusted to the police authorities, and it is sufficient for them to be satisfied in their own minds that the individual comes within the prohibitions to have them enforced.

I shall not fail to continue to press the subject upon the Russian Government at every proper opportunity.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

What I regard as the classical dispatch on the subject is the following sent by Mr. Blaine to Mr. Foster, which is not published in the Foreign Relations in full, although covering many pages.

[*Mr. Blaine to Mr. Foster.*] [66]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 29, 1881.

* * * * * *

Sir.—From a careful examination of the cases of grievance heretofore reported by your legation, it appears that the action of the Russian authorities toward American citizens, alleged to be Israelites, and visiting Russia, has been of two kinds:

First. Absolute prohibition of residence in St. Petersburg and in other cities of the Empire, on the ground that the Russian law permits no native Jews to reside there, and that the treaty between Russia and the United States gives to our citizens in Russian jurisdiction no other rights or privileges than those ac-

[66] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1030.

corded to native Russians. The case of Henry Pinkos may be taken as a type of this class.

Second. Permission of residence and commerce, conditionally on belonging to the first guild of Russian merchants and taking out a license. The case of Rosenstrauss is in point.

The apparent contradiction between these two classes of actions becomes more and more evident as the question is traced backward. The Department has rarely had presented to it any subject of inquiry in which a connected understanding of the facts has proved more difficult. For every allegation, on the one hand, that native laws, in force at the time the treaty of 1832 was signed prohibited, or limited the sojourn of foreign Jews in the cities ot Russia, I find, on the other hand, specific initiation to alien Hebrews of good repute to domicile themselves in Russia, to pursue their business calling under appropriate license, to establish factories there, and to purchase or lease real estate. Moreover, going back beyond 1832, the date of our treaty, I observe that the imperial ukases concerning the admission of foreigners into Russia, are silent on all questions of faith; proper passports, duly vised being the essential requisite. And, further back still, in the time of the Empress Catherine, I discover explicit tolerance of all foreign religions laid down as a fundamental policy of the empire.

Before examining the issues directly before us, it may not be out of place to give a brief review of these historical data.

The ukase of the Empress Catherine, of 22d February, 1784, although concerning only the establishment of commercial relations with the new possessions of Russia on the Black Sea, contains the following notable declaration:

That Sebastopol, Kherson, and Theodosia be opened to all the nations friendly to our empire for the advantage of their commerce with our faithful subjects, * * * that the said nations may come to these cities in all safety and freedom. * * * Each individual of such nation, whosoever he may be, as long as he shall remain in the said cities by reason of his business, or of his own pleasure, shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion, according to the praiseworthy precepts handed down to us by the sovereigns our predecessors, and which we have again received and confirmed, "that all the various nationalities established in Russia shall praise God, the All Powerful, each one after the worship and religion of his own ancestors, * * * and we promise, upon our imperial word, to accord to all foreigners in these three cities the same advantages which they already enjoy in our capital and seaport, St. Petersburg, etc.

The full text of this ukase, which breathes a spirit of large and enlightened tolerance in advance of the policy of those days, is well worthy of perusal, and may be consulted in Vol. 4 of Marten's "Recueil des Traités," 1st edition, Gottingen, 1795, pages 455-457.

The imperial ordinance of the Czar Alexander I, of 13th August, 1807, decrees a rigid system of passports for foreigners entering Russia, and is applicable to "all foreigners, of whatsoever nationality," but intimates no restriction on travel or sojourn in Russia by reason of race or faith. This ordinance was modified and amplified by the ukase of 25th February, 1817, but still without any manner of religious proscription or restriction.

From this time down to 1860 I can find no trace of the enforcement especially against American citizens, of the restrictions against Jewish travel and residence which are stated to have existed when our treaty with Russia was signed. It is a significant circumstance that the acknowledged authorities on private international law, writing during this period upon the legislation of all Europe as affecting the persons and rights of aliens, make no reference to such disabilities. Even the painstaking Foelix is silent on the point, although devoting much space to the treatment and rights of aliens in Russia. I do not desire to be here understood as arguing that the asserted disabilities did not exist at that time. The domestic history of the Russian Empire shows plainly the restrictions placed upon native Hebrews and especially those of Polish origin, the efforts to confine them to certain parts of the empire, and the penalties sought to be imposed to deter them from mingling with the Christian subjects of the Czar. But the same history shows the gradual relaxation of those measures, until, in the capital itself, the native Israelite population is said to number some thirty thousand souls, with their synagogues and sectarian schools; while a special ukase of the late Czar distinctly recognizes to foreign Hebrews every privilege of residence and trade, in a certain guild, which native Christian subjects possess.

The ukase of the Emperor Alexander II, of 7th June, 1860, after premising that the need of commercial development and the principles of international reciprocity make it proper to concede "to foreigners dwelling in Russia the same rights as those which our subjects enjoy already in the principal countries of Europe," proceeds to permit all aliens to enter any of the trading guilds on the same footing as natives and to thereupon enjoy all the commercial privileges which these guilds confer upon native Russian traders, with the following qualification:

First Remark.—Foreign Hebrew subjects known by reason of their social position and the wide extent of their commercial operations, who come from foreign lands, may, after the established formalities, that is to say, upon a special authorization, issued in each case by the ministers of finances, of the interior, and of foreign affairs, trade in the empire and establish banking houses therein, upon procuring the license of a merchant of the first guild. It is likewise to these same Israelites to establish factories, to acquire and to lease real estate conformably to the prescriptions of the present ukase.

This provision, it will be observed, extends to the whole territory of the empire. If, as I understand the response of the Russian ministry in the case of Henry Pinkos, native Israelites are forbidden by law from residing or trading in the capital, then this ukase places all foreign Jews (whether belonging to treaty powers or not) on a more favored footing. But if native Hebrews, as a fact, are permitted to reside in St. Petersburg and engage in trade in other guilds than the so-called "first guild," there may then well be question whether such restriction to a particular guild in the case of an American Israelite is consonant with the express opinions of the treaty of 1832, Article 1. This point was in fact raised in the case of Theodore Rosenstrauss at Kharkoff, which is narrated at length, with all the correspondence therein exchanged, in Mr. Jewell's dispatch No. 20, of December 15, 1873; but it does not seem to have been then exhaustively considered whether the complainant received, under the treaty, the like treatment with the native Hebrews of Kharkoff, or whether he was constrained to obey the ukase of 1860, which, as I have above remarked, is framed for general application to all aliens and irrespective of treaty rights. It is, however, not my present purpose to reargue this old case, but simply to call attention to the fact that the Russian law may, and possibly does, modify and restrict treaty rights. The Rosenstrauss case was special in its nature, and concerned commercial privileges, under a promulgated license law of the empire. It may be necessary, at some future time, to discuss the question it involves, but just now I am concerned with a different class of cases, namely, those of American citizens visiting Russia for private business, or for pleasure and travel and duly provided with the passports of this government authenticating their national character and their consequent right to all the specific guarantees of our treaty.

This brings me again to the cases of Pinkos and Wilczynski. It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the facts therein, as they

are amply presented by the files of your legation, and by the correspondence had with the Russian foreign office. It is sufficient to characterize them as instances of the notified expulsion from St. Petersburg, by the police or military authorities, of American citizens, not because of any alleged failure to comply with the ukase of 1860, or with the Russian commercial code, but simply on the allegation, unsupported by proof, that they professed the Israelitish faith, and that the law forbade the sojourn of native Israelites in the imperial capital. On this brief formulation of the case, this government believes that, under its treaty with Russia, and in view of its treatment of Russian subjects resorting under like circumstances to the United States, it has just ground for complaint, and expectancy of better treatment from the government of Russia.

The provision of our treaty of 1832 with Russia, governing the commercial privileges of the citizens and subjects of the two countries is as follows:

Article I. There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation.

The inhabitants of their respective states shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places and rivers of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories, in order to attend to their affairs; and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories, in order to attend to their affairs; and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside, on condition of submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce.

Article X confers specific personal rights reciprocally. In respect of this article an infringement alike of the letter and the spirit of the treaty is not only possible, but probable, under the rigid interpretation of the Jewish laws upon which Russia seems disposed to insist. Its stipulations concern the right to dispose of personal property in Russia owned by or falling to American citizens, who may receive and dispose of inheritances and have recourse to the courts in settlement of questions arising thereunder. It certainly could not be seriously claimed or justly admitted that an American Hebrew, coming within the provisions of this article, is to be treated as a candidate for commercial privi-

leges, and required to take out a license as a trader of the first guild, subject to the approval of his application by the ministries of finance, interior, and foreign affairs. A personal right, not a mercantile privilege, is conferred. To bar an American citizen whose rights might be so concerned from personal appearance in protection of those rights would be a distinct departure from the engagement of the treaty; while to suppose that his case might come under the discretional authority of the police or military power, which might refuse his personal sojourn in any part of the empire, or allow it under conditions depending on their good will, is to suppose a submission of the guarantees of the treaty to a tribunal never contemplated by its framers.

Upon a case arising, this government would hold that the treaty conferred specific rights on all American citizens in the matter of the disposition of their personal property, irrespective of any condition save those which the article itself expressly creates; that their actual presence when necessary to protect or assert their interests is absolutely guaranteed whenever and for whatever time it may be needful; and that this international engagement supersedes any municipal rule or regulation which might interfere with the free action of such individuals.

It would be, in the judgment of this government, absolutely inadmissible that a domestic law restraining native Hebrews from residence in certain parts of the empire might operate to hinder an American citizen whether alleged or known to profess the Hebrew faith, from disposing of his property or taking possession thereof for himself (subject only to the laws of alien inheritance) or being heard in person by the courts, which, under Russian law, may be called upon to decide matters to which he is necessarily a party. The case would clearly be one in which the obligation of a treaty is supreme, and where the local law must yield. These questions of the conflict of local law and international treaty stipulations are among the most common which have engaged the attention of publicists, and it is their concurrent judgment that where a treaty creates a privilege for aliens in express terms, it cannot be limited by the operations of domestic law without a serious breach of the good faith which governs the intercourse of nations. So long as such a conventional engagement in favor of the citizens in another state exists, the law governing natives in like cases is manifestly inapplicable.

I need hardly enlarge on the point that the Government of the United States concludes its treaties with foreign states for the equal protection of all classes of American citizens. It can make absolutely no discrimination between them, whatever be their

origin or creed. So that they abide by the laws, at home or abroad, it must give them due protection and expect like protection for them. Any unfriendly or discriminatory act against them on the part of a foreign power with which we are at peace would call for our earnest remonstrance, whether a treaty existed or not. The friendliness of our relations with foreign nations is emphasized by the treaties we have concluded with them. We have been moved to enter into such international compacts by considerations of mutual benefit and reciprocity, by the same considerations, in short, which have animated the Russian Government from the time of the noble and tolerant declarations of the Empress Catherine in 1784 to those of the ukase of 1860. We have looked to the spirit rather than to the letter of those engagements, and believed that they should be interpreted in the broadest way; and it is, therefore, a source of unfeigned regret to us when a government, to which we are allied by so many historical ties as to that of Russia, shows a disposition in its dealings with us to take advantage of technicalities, to appeal to the rigid letter and not the reciprocal motive of its international engagements in justification of the expulsion from its territories of peaceable American citizens resorting thither under the good faith of treaties and accused of no wrong-doing or of no violation of the commercial code of the land, but of simple adherence to the faith of their fathers.

That the two American citizens whose unfortunate cases have brought about this discussion were not definitely expelled from St. Petersburg, but were allotted, by the military authorities, a brief time to arrange their private affairs, said to coincide with the usual time during which any foreigner may remain in the empire under his original passport, does not alter the matter as it appears to our eyes. The motive alleged remains the same, and the principle involved is one recognized neither by our fundamental laws nor by any of the conventions we have concluded with foreign states.

It must not be forgotten that this issue, of the banishment of our citizens from a friendly territory by reason of their alleged religion, is a new one in our international relations. From the time when the treaty of 1832 was signed down to within a very recent period, there had been nothing in our relations with Russia to lead to a supposition that our flag did not carry with it equal protection to every American within the dominions of the empire. Even in questions of citizenship affecting the interests of naturalized citizens of Russian origin, the good disposition of the imperial government has been on several occasions shown

in a most exemplary manner; and I am sure the actual counsellors of His Majesty cannot but contemplate with satisfaction the near approach made in 1874 to the arrangement of negotiations for a treaty of naturalization between the two countries. On that occasion it will be seen by consulting Mr. Jewell's No. 62, of April 22, 1874, the only remaining obstacle lay in the statutes of the empire touching the conferment and the loss of citizenship, of which the examining commission and the consultative council of state recommended the modification in a sense compatible with the modern usage of nations.

I can readily conceive that statutes bristling with difficulties remain unrepealed in the volumes of the law of Russia as well as of other nations. Even we ourselves have our obsolete "Blue Laws"; and their literal enforcement, if such a thing were possible, might to-day subject a Russian of free-thinking proclivities, in Maryland or Delaware, to the penalty of having his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron for blasphemy. Happily the spirit of progress is of higher authority than the letter of outworn laws; and statutory enactments are not so inelastic but that they relax and change with the general advancement of peoples in the path of tolerance.

The simple fact that thousands of Israelites to-day pursue their callings unmolested in St. Petersburg, under the shadow of ancient proscriptive laws, is in itself an eloquent testimony to the principle of progress. And so, too, in Spain, where the persecution and expulsion of the Jews is one of the most notable and deplorable facts in history, and where the edicts of the earlier sovereigns remain unrepealed, we see to-day an offer of protection and assured right of domicile made to the Israelites of every race.

I leave out of consideration in the present instruction the question whether the citizens or subjects of other nations are more or less favored than our own in this regard. I have not, however, failed to notice the statement made to you by Mr. de Giers, in one of your reported conversations with him, that German and Austrian Jews are subjected to the proscriptions in question, and the implication therefrom that if the Governments of Germany and Austria do not complain, there is no reason why we should.

It is not for me to examine or conjecture the reciprocal motives of policy or of international convention which may govern in these instances. Neither have I failed to remark the seeming uncertainty with which the British Government has approached the case of the English Israelite, Mr. Lewisohn, who was recently required to quit St. Petersburg, notwithstanding that the personal guarantees of the Anglo-Russian treaty of January 12, 1859, in

its eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth articles, are more particular than in our own treaty, and, were, presumably, like our own stipulations, framed with the intent of securing imparital rights and protection in Russia. I am perfectly willing to rest my argument on the moral weight of our treaty of 1832, although of course not averse to availing myself of any support which may come from any other quarter to fortify what we conceive to have been our clear purpose in executing that instrument. And under no circumstances would I in the name of this government be willing to accept a less measure of impartial privilege for a citizen of the United States visiting or sojourning in Russian territory than is assured to aliens in the like case by any stipulation with or usage toward any other nation on the part of Russia.

I had the honor in my letter of the 20th ultimo to Mr. Bartholomey to acquaint him with the general views of the President in relation to this matter.

I cannot better bring this instruction to a close than by repeating and amplifying those views which the President so firmly holds, and which he so anxiously desires to have recognized and responded to by the Russian Government.

He conceives that the intention of the United States in negotiating the treaty of December 18, 1832, and the distinct and enlightened reciprocal engagements then entered into with the Government of Russia, give us moral ground to expect careful attention to our opinions as to its rational interpretation in the broadest and most impartial sense; that he would deeply regret, in view of the gratifying friendliness of the relations of the two countries which he is so desirous to maintain, to find that this large national sentiment fails to control the present issue, or that a narrow and rigid limitation of the construction possible to the treaty stipulation between the two countries is likely to be adhered to; that if, after a frank comparison of the views of the two governments, in the most amicable spirit and with the most earnest desire to reach a mutually agreeable conclusion the treaty stipulations between the United States and Russia are found insufficient, to determine questions of nationality and tolerance of individual faith, or to secure to American citizens in Russia the treatment which Russians receive in the United States, it is simply due to the good relations of the two countries that these stipulations should be made sufficient in these regards; and that we can look for no clearer evidence of the good will which Russia professes toward us than a frank declaration of her readiness to come to a distinct agreement with us on these points in an earnest and generous spirit.

I have observed that in your conferences on this subject heretofore with the minister of foreign affairs, as reported in your dispatches, you have on some occasions given discreet expression to the feelings of sympathy and gratification with which this government and people regard any steps taken in foreign countries in the direction of a liberal tolerance analogous to that which forms the fundamental principle of our national existence. Such expressions were natural on your part, and reflected a sentiment which we all feel. But in making the President's views known to the minister I desire that you will carefully subordinate such sentiments to the simple consideration of what is conscientiously due to our citizens in foreign lands. You will distinctly impress upon him that, regardful of the sovereignty of Russia, we do not submit any suggestions touching the laws and customs of the empire except where those laws and customs conflict with and destroy the rights of American citizens as secured by treaty obligations.

You can further advise him that we can make no new treaty with Russia, nor accept any construction of our existing treaty, which shall discriminate against any class of American citizens on account of their religious faith.

I cannot but feel assured that this earnest presentation of the views of this government will accord with the sense of justice and equity of that of Russia and that the questions at issue will soon find their natural solution in harmony with the noble spirit of tolerance which pervaded the ukase of the Empress Catherine a century ago, and with the statesmanlike declaration of the principle of reciprocity found in the late decree of the Czar Alexander II in 1860.

You may read this dispatch to the minister for foreign affairs and should he desire a copy, you will give it to him.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Amidst the praise rightfully accorded to the distinguished public men now in office for their efforts in behalf of our co-religionists this really great dispatch of James G. Blaine and the powerful representations of John W. Foster, still a useful and distinguished citizen of the Republic, should not be forgotten.

But M. de Giers continued to assert that the words in the treaty of 1832, "under the condition of the law then pre-

vailing" were controlling, and subjected the American Jews to the treatment of native Jews.

On April 15, 1882, Mr. Frelinghuysen, abandoning for the moment the strict view of protecting American citizens, sent a dispatch to our legation at St. Petersburg with reference to the riots which had been recently reported.

[*Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Hoffmann.*] [67]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1882.

Sir.—The prejudice of race and creed having in our day given away to the claims of common humanity, the people of the United States have heard, with great regret, the stories of the sufferings of the Jews in Russia. It may be that the accounts in the newspapers are exaggerated and the same may be true of some private reports. Making, however, due allowance for misrepresentations, it can scarcely be doubted that much has been done which a humane and just person must condemn.

The President, of course, feels that the Government of the Emperor should not be held morally responsible for acts which it consider wrong, but which it may be powerless to prevent.

If that be true of this case, it would be worse than useless for me to direct you, as the representative of the United States, to give official expression to the feeling which this treatment of the Jews calls forth in this country. Should, however, the attitude of the Russian Government be different, and should you be of the opinion that a more vigorous effort might be put forth for the prevention of this great wrong, you will, if a favorable opportunity offers, state, with all proper deference, that the feeling of friendship which the United States entertains for Russia prompts this Government to express the hope that the Imperial Government will find means to cause the persecution of these unfortunate fellow beings to cease.

This instruction devolves a delicate duty upon you, and a wide discretion is given you in its execution. However much this republic may disapprove of affairs in other nationalities, it does not conceive that it is its right or province officiously and offensively to intermeddle. If, however, it should come to your knowledge that any citizens of the United States are made victims

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[67] Foreign Relations, 1882, page 451.

of this persecution, you will feel it your duty to omit no effort to protect them, and to report such cases to this Department.

FRED'K. T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

Mr. Bayard in 1886 repeated the familiar statement that the Government of the Czar is aware that we do not admit the principle of discriminating against American citizens because of their religious tenets.

There was a lull in dispatches until 1890, the first one being a lengthy dispatch from Mr. Chas. Emory Smith to Mr. Blaine, that the reports of proscriptive measures and expulsions of the Jews were untrue.

[*Mr. Smith to Mr. Blaine.*] [68]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, September 25, 1890.

Sir.—You have been advised by previous dispatches from this legation that the published rumors of new proscription measures, or the revival and oppressive application of old and obsolete edicts, against the Hebrew residents and subjects of the Russian Empire are declared by the Russian Government to be entirely groundless. Notwithstanding the authoritative denial of these reports, they still crop up from time to time, and are persistently repeated with a degree of circumstance well calculated to create the impression that they have some foundation of fact. This continued imputation of purpose and acts, to which, if really entertained or executed, we could not be indifferent, renders it proper that I should apprise you of some further evidence on the subject.

The statement recently appeared in the columns of the *London Times* that despite the disavowal of the Russian Government, some five or six hundred Hebrew families residing at Odessa had been summarily notified that they must immediately abandon their homes and, in fact, that they had already been expelled from the country. It has come to my knowledge that, in view of this publication, the British embassy at this capital called on the British consul at Odessa to investigate the story and report upon its truth. His report has now been made, and I am able to communicate its substance. He directed his inquiries not only

[68] Foreign Relations, 1890, page 701.

among the Government officials, but among the Hebrews themselves, and the latter were as emphatic as the former in declaring that no order of the character described had been issued and no movement of the kind attempted. He found no confirmation of the story in any quarter. A number of Hebrew families had emigrated or were preparing to do so, but this action was entirely voluntary on their part, and was not taken under compulsion. This emigration was explained by the rabbis and the highest authorities among the Hebrews as due to the fact that there were many youths in those families and that, as the number admitted to the universities in Russia is limited, they removed to other countries to secure the opportunity of higher education; and thus it was made clear that there was no foundation for the particular charge which has been preferred against the Government.

These reports of new proscriptive designs against the Hebrews on the part of the Russian Government have naturally created more concern in other countries than here, because, so far as can be ascertained, they had their sole origin and obtained their sole credence remote from the scene. Had there been any good reason for supposing that measures so repugnant to every sentiment of justice and humanity were actually undertaken or seriously contemplated, it would have been a duty to report them for such consideration as they would have required. But it is a source of special gratification to be able to present not only the denial of the Government, but confirmatory testimony that these injurious allegations are baseless.

I have, etc.,

CHAS. EMORY SMITH.

[*Mr. Blaine to Mr. Smith.*] [69]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1891.

Sir.—On the 20th of August last the House of Representatives adopted a resolution requesting the President to communicate to that body any information in his possession concerning the enforcement of proscriptive edicts against the Jews in Russia. To this resolution the President responded on the 1st of October, and accompanying his response there was a report in which, with reference to the rumors that new measures of repression were about to be put in force, I said:

Such a step, if in reality contemplated, would not only wound

[69] Foreign Relations, 1891, page 737.

the universal and innate sentiment of humanity, but would suggest the difficult problem of affording an immediate asylum to a million or more of exiles without seriously deranging the conditions of labor and of social organization in other communities.

The correspondence communicated to the House of Representatives included your reassuring dispatch No. 44 of the 25th of September last; and this dispatch, together with assurances received in conversations with the diplomatic representative of Russia at this capital, tended to allay the apprehension necessarily aroused by the prospect either of the adoption of new measures or of the harsh enforcement of the old.

Up to the present time the Department has not been advised that any new edicts affecting the Jews have been promulgated. The cases of distress that have been brought to our notice are the result, in some instances, of the new interpretation, and, in others, of the strict enforcement of regulations which have for some years been in existence, but of which the severity was not generally understood because they were not rigorously applied.

The Department is informed that for many years the Jews in Russia have, as a race, been compelled to live within a certain area denominated the pale of settlement. Under the laws of May, 1882, it is understood that their places of residence within this area have been restricted by forbidding them to live in villages and to force them into the towns. The effect of the recent and summary enforcement of this measure in certain districts has been to deprive many of their means of livelihood. It is also understood that under the laws for many years in existence Jewish artisans have been permitted to reside outside of the pale of settlement. The Department is informed that by a new interpretation of the law many classes of workers formerly regarded as artisans are now denied that privilege, and being suddenly forced to quit their homes and to swell the number of their race in the overcrowded towns within the pale of settlement, find themselves unable to gain a subsistence by the pursuit of their respective occupations.

Other measures, such as the withdrawal of the privilege of pursuing many occupations, the denial of admission to the schools, and the actual expulsion as "alien vagrants" of persons long domiciled in Russia contribute to swell the emigration. I forbear to enumerate the edicts particularly applicable to the family, by which the ties of relationship are rent and a premium put upon their severance. I do not dwell on these things, not only because it is not my purpose to indulge in a general criticism of the anti-Jewish laws, but also because those that I have

explicitly referred to in the main account for the cases that have been brought to my notice.

That numbers of Jews have been and are daily being compelled to quit their homes in Russia by the enforcement of these oppressive measures, is amply shown by the present immigration of destitute Russian Jews into the United States. Heretofore this immigration, although large, being mainly made up of persons who were in some measure prepared for the change, has not overtaxed the resources of the various benevolent associations which are so generously maintained and admirably administered by the Jews of the United States. I am told on excellent authority that within ten years some 200,000 Jews of Russian origin have been received into this country, have been furnished, when necessary with occupation and homes, and have become speedily assimilated into the body politic, of which they form an orderly, thrifty, and law-abiding element.

The gravest fears are expressed lest this resource should fail if taxed with a great influx of Russian Jews, who, by reason of their sudden expulsion from their homes, and their unfamiliarity with the language and ways of life in this country, would stand in need of immediate, and in many cases of long continued, assistance and care.

You are aware that the problem of efficiently controlling immigration has been before the national legislature for some years. Measures have already been adopted for its regulation, and several schemes of further legislation are now pending before Congress. These measures, however, have not been due to an inhospitable disposition. The policy of this Government in respect to the admission of aliens to its shores has been most liberal. It has afforded to many thousands a home and a ready entrance into its political and social life, and it still offers to spontaneous, self-helpful, and independent immigration, a cordial welcome.

If measures of restriction have been adopted, it is only because it has been found necessary to avert the injection into the population of elements not assimilable and the bringing or sending hither of the indigent and the helpless to become a charge upon the community. In no instance has any measure of expulsion or of oppression been adopted in respect to those who are already here, all of whom stand under the equal protection of the laws.

But the hospitality of a nation should not be turned into a burden. And, however much we may sympathize with wanderers forced by untoward circumstances to quit their homes, and however ready the disposition to relieve the deplorable condition into which they may be cast by the application of the laws of their

native country, the Government and people of the United States cannot avoid a feeling of concern at the enforcement of measures which threaten to frustrate their efforts to minister to the wants and improve the conditions of those who are driven to seek a livelihood within its borders.

We are not forgetful of the ties of good relationship that have long subsisted between the United States and Russia, and of the friendly acts of Russia towards our country in the past. The Government and people of the United States are fully animated with a desire to preserve this cordiality of feeling, and for this reason they the more strongly deprecate the enforcement in Russia, in respect to a portion of her people, of measures which not only arouse a general feeling of disappointment, but which also operate to impose a tax upon the charitable and humane in this country.

The Government of the United States does not assume to dictate the internal policy of other nations, or to make suggestions as to what their municipal laws should be or as to the manner in which they should be administered. Nevertheless, the mutual duties of nations require that each should use its power with a due regard for the other and for the results which its exercise produces on the rest of the world. It is in this respect that the condition of the Jews in Russia is now brought to the attention of the United States, upon whose shores are cast daily evidences of the suffering and destitution wrought by the enforcement of the edicts against this unhappy people. I am persuaded that His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his councillors can feel no sympathy with measures which are forced upon other nations by such deplorable consequences.

You will read this instruction to the minister of foreign affairs and give him a copy if he desires it.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

[*Mr. Blaine to Mr. Smith.*] [70]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1891.

Sir.—Your dispatch No. 75, of the 10th of February, reporting a conversation with Mr. de Giers in relation to the treatment of the Jews in Russia, was received by the Department on the 25th of the same month. On the 18th of February, just a week previ-

[70] Foreign Relations, 1891, page 740.

ously, I addressed to you a communication to be read to Mr. de Giers on the same subject.

While the statement in that communication touching the harsh treatment of the Jews are completely confirmed by Mr. de Giers, I have observed with not a little satisfaction, his readiness in suggesting this topic of discussion and his expression of willingness to consider any inquiries which you might make. It was believed that the Government of Russia would not disregard the evidences which have appeared in various countries of the general interest and solicitude which have been excited throughout the civilized world by the reports of the oppression of the Jewish race in the dominions of His Imperial Majesty. Nevertheless, the fact that the subject has been brought forward by the imperial minister of foreign affairs himself increases our hope that the representations of this Government based upon the deplorable aspects of the question which have been brought to its notice, will not only receive the consideration to which they are thought to be justly entitled, but will also more fully impress the Government of Russia with the fact that the effects of the repressive policy against the Jews are not confined to that country, but that they also excite the sympathy and appeal to the generous and charitable efforts of the people of other lands.

Ever since the transmission to you of the instructions of the 18th of February the Department has received fresh evidences of the immediate and material, as well as of the broad and general, interest which has been felt in this country in regard to the hardships of the Jewish subjects of His Imperial Majesty. Almost every day communications are received upon this subject, temperate and couched in language respectful to the Government of the Czar, but at the same time indicative and strongly expressive of the depth and prevalence of the sentiment of disapprobation and regret. No government can be insensible of a fact of so much significance, and I am happy to perceive the appreciation of the sentiments and interests of other people which the conversation of Mr. de Giers discloses.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

[*Mr. Smith to Mr. Blaine.*] [71]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, February 28, 1891.

Sir.—In view of the numerous and varied reports during the

[71] Foreign Relations, 1891, page 740.

last few months concerning the purpose and action of the Russian Government in regard to the Jewish people living within the empire, I have deemed it useful to institute some inquiries on the subject through the consuls of the United States. To this end I sent out in January a circular letter. The design of this circular was not to initiate a minute investigation into details which would require much time, but to elicit trustworthy information upon the spirit and tendencies which mark the present policy toward the Jews. It was deemed necessary to communicate only with the consuls located in the section where the Jews are found in considerable numbers, and the circular was therefore addressed only to the consuls at Warsaw, Odessa and Riga.

They all agree that there is no evidence of the application and enforcement of new measures against the Hebrews. At the same time, those on the western frontier of the empire observe signs of the more stringent execution of the old laws which have been heretofore so loosely and lightly observed as to be practically inoperative.

As to St. Petersburg and Moscow, the best information I can gather leads to the conclusion that the present policy of the government is inducing some withdrawal of the Jews from these centers. The long-established laws permit only Jewish merchants of the first guild and Jews of certain other professional or artisan classes to reside in these cities. But the prohibition against Jews outside of these classes has not been enforced with any degree of strictness, and under the influence of this laxity thousands who are interdicted by the terms of the law have settled in St. Petersburg and Moscow. I do not understand that there is any harsh or general movement to enforce the law now, but am informed that such inquiries have been set on foot as to create the fear on part of those not embraced within the tolerated classes that trouble may be experienced, and that under this apprehension some of them are removing from the two chief cities of the empire.

I am, etc.,

CHAS. EMORY SMITH.

[*Mr. Smith to Mr. Blaine.*] [72]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, March 12, 1891.

Sir.—I have the honor to report that I yesterday waited upon the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. de Giers, with a copy of your

[72] Foreign Relations, 1891, page 741.

instructions No. 78, relating to the edicts and policy of Russia concerning the Jews. Upon hearing my statement of the object of my call Mr. de Giers requested me not to read the dispatch to him, but to leave a copy, which he could examine at leisure.

I then gave him a brief verbal outline of its contents, referring to the resolution of inquiry passed by the House of Representatives in August of last year touching rumored proscriptive edicts against the Jews and to your report in response. You had received assurances, so you stated in this dispatch, which tended to allay apprehensions that had been aroused by alarming publications, and the Department had no information that any new measures hostile to the Jews had been undertaken. The cases of distress which had been brought to its attention were explained by the more rigorous enforcement of old laws whose severity had not been understood so long as they had not been applied. That the Jews in Russia were subjected to coercive and oppressive measures which compelled them to quit their homes was shown by the number of unfortunate and indigent Russian Jews who were now arriving in the United States. You had been informed on excellent authority that within a period of ten years this immigration amounted to 200,000. Most of these immigrants had been well provided for, but a further influx of destitute persons entirely unprepared for the conditions and requirements of American life would be a very serious burden for the American people. It was in this aspect of the results forced upon our country that the condition of the Jews in Russia under existing measures presented itself to the attention of our Government and people, and, in view of the mutual duties of nations, constrained his expression of their sentiments.

On this statement of the general tenor of your dispatch, Mr. de Giers hastened to ask at the outset what was its conclusion—what demand it presented. I replied that it presented no demand, but was a declaration of the views of the Government and people of the United States, which was submitted for the consideration of the Imperial Government of Russia under a sense of its own obligations. Mr. de Giers inquired particularly as to the statement that 200,000 Russian Jews had immigrated to the United States within ten years. I repeated your statement on this point. He rejoined that if such a number of people had gone to the United States as workers to aid in developing the country he supposed they would be acceptable, but if they went to "exploit" the American people, as he expressed it, he could understand how objectionable it was. After some further observations of a general character Mr. de Giers concluded by say-

ing that the dispatch would be received in the same friendly spirit in which it was sent; that he would submit it to the Emperor; and that, if it was determined to make reply either verbally or in writing, it would be duly communicated.

I have, etc.,

CHAS. EMORY SMITH.

By 1891, Mr. Smith had discovered that expulsions were actually taking place, and in October, 1891, he reports from St. Petersburg that he prolonged his stay in London for the purpose of meeting several gentlemen, particularly conversant with the Jewish question. The only person whom he names as having met is Arnold White.

On April 15, 1895, Mr. Gresham wrote to Mr. Breckinridge:

[*Mr. Gresham to Mr. Breckenridge.*] [73]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1895.

Sir.—Your attention is called to the Department's No. 60, of February 28, 1893, to your predecessor, Mr. White, and to his reply of April 11, 1893, No. 81 (see Foreign Relations, 1893).

The subject thereof, viz., the refusal of the Russian consul-general at New York, under instructions from his government, to vise passports issued by this Department to persons of the Jewish faith, has again come up for consideration.

You are desired, unless good reason to the contrary occurs to you, to present to the Russian Government the views of this Government as contained in the dispatch of February 28, 1893, above referred to.

I am, etc.,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

[*Mr. Peirce to Mr. Uhl.*] [74]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

ST. PETERSBURG, June 13, 1895.

Sir.—Referring to your No. 46, of April 26, and to Mr. Breckinridge's reply thereto, No. 71, of May 17, in which he enclosed a

[73] Foreign Relations, 1895, page 1056.

[74] Foreign Relations, 1895, page 1058.

copy of his note to Prince Lobanow on the subject of the refusal of the Russian consul at New York to vise the passports of Israelites, I have the honor to say that in a recent conversation which I have had with the Prince, the subject being referred to, I took occasion to call his excellency's attention to the importance of the Hebrews as a class in the United States, referring to their numbers, condition and influence in the community as potential factors in a country governed, as is ours, by the will of the people. Prince Lobanow expressed himself as impressed with its importance, and making a note of the matter said he would consult with the minister of the interior on the subject at an early day.

Since then I have had occasion to call several times on Baron Osten-Sacken, to whom all questions in the foreign office relating to Israelites have been intrusted. In the course of inquiries as to whether the two gentlemen of Hebrew faith referred to in Mr. Breckinridge's dispatch above mentioned would be permitted to enter Russia, the matter of the vise of passports has come up, and Baron Osten-Sacken has informed me that he received Mr. Breckinridge's note from Prince Lobanow, accompanied by a memorandum calling special attention to the subject. Regarding the entry of foreign Jews into Russia, Baron Osten-Sacken states the position of Russia to be, that she looks upon their presence in the empire as prejudicial to the Russian people. That certain numbers of them being here she must take care of them, and that this she proposes to do in her own way and according to her own views as to the best interests of all Russian subjects. That viewing the Jewish question as she does, as one of race and not of religion, but in which the two questions are inseparable, so far as her purposes are concerned, she refuses to permit foreign Jews of any nationality to enter her borders and swell the number already here. For this reason the Government has instructed all Russian consuls in all countries to refuse the vise of passports of foreign Jews. On the other hand, and speaking of his own opinion, as the real purpose of the laws forbidding foreign Jews to enter Russia is to prevent their settlement here and their engaging in trade in Russian territory, and not to prevent the entrance of tourists, temporary sojourners, or Jews whose purpose in coming is not of an objectionable nature to the Government, Baron Osten-Sacken said that in his opinion there should be a change in the present practice regarding the admission of foreign Jews.

I expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would find it compatible with its policy to admit American citizens into Russia without inquiry as to their religious opinions or race,

upon presentation of their passports. That with us the Hebrews had proved themselves to be good and law-abiding citizens, who prospered without preying upon others, but that whatever might be, the opinion of the Imperial Government on this question, the interpretation and application of the Federal laws discourage citizens of the United States, of all creeds taking up permanent residence in a foreign country and continuing to claim the protection of our country as such citizens; that such citizenship involves certain obligations which require a residence in our country, and therefore it is unlikely that Hebrews bearing American passports would become permanently settled in Russia: This Baron Osten-Sacken admitted was a forcible argument and he expressed himself as hopeful that it would be possible to bring about a satisfactory revision of Russian practice as regards the admission of American Jews into the empire.

At the same time, he said, that were an answer to Mr. Breckinridge's note demanded the reply could not be favorable. That the laws of Russia are framed with regard to her own views of her own good. I took occasion to point out to the Baron that the purport of Mr. Breckinridge's note was to protest against the extra territorial act of an agent of a foreign government, upon our soil, applying a religious test to citizens of the United States, an act not constitutionally within the power of any officer of a Government to perform, and not to criticise the Russian Laws.

Under these circumstances, presenting a hopeful prospect of securing a more satisfactory condition of affairs in this vexed question, and as pressing for the principle seemed to endanger complications I felt that the discretionary clause in your No. 46 should deter me from taking the responsibility of insisting on a reply to the note in question at the present juncture. I therefore requested Baron Osten-Sacken to hold the note in abeyance for the present. To this he assented and agreed to hold it as a memorandum of the case.

H. D. Peirce,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

[*Mr. Adee to Mr. Breckenridge.*] [75]

Department of State,
Washington, July 19, 1895.

Sir.—Referring to Department's No. 46, of April 15 last, and No. 92 of the 5th instant, in regard to the refusal of Russian con-

[75] Foreign Relations, 1895, page 1060.

sular officers in the United States to vise the passports of American citizens of Jewish faith, I send you copy of a letter addressed by the Russian consul-general in New York to a citizen of the United States who had presented a Department passport. It illustrates the inquisitorial function assumed in regard to the religious faith of our citizens by Russian agents within our domestic jurisdiction.

I am, etc.,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary.

[*Mr. Waix to Mr. Olney.*] [76]

BOSTON, July 15, 1895.

Sir.—As I am a citizen of the United States of America and would like to go for a short while on some business to Russia, and as I have sent my passport, signed by your honor the 18th of last June, No. 654, to the consul-general of Russia, A. E. Olarowsky, in New York to vise it, and as you will please see from the answers of the consul, certified copies inclosed, he refused to vise it (my passport) on account that I am a Jew by religion, therefore I have the honor to ask you to advise me how shall I do, as without the vise of the consul they won't let me pass the frontier of Russia.

Your obedient servant,

MAIOR WAIX.

[*Mr. Peterson to Mr. Waix.*] [77]

IMPERIAL RUSSIAN CONSULATE-GENERAL,
NEW YORK, June 27, 1895.

Dear Sir.—In reply to your letter of June 26, inclosing passport and $1.20, I would inform you that before your passport can be vised you must inform me where you were born, and what your religion is—if Christian or Jew.

I shall retain your passport and fee until receipt of your answer.

Respectfully,

C. G. PETERSON, *Vice-Consul,*
(*For the Consul-General.*)

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[76] Foreign Relations, 1895, page 60.
[77] Foreign Relations, 1895, page 61.

[*Mr. Olarowsky to Mr. Waix.*] [78]

IMPERIAL RUSSIAN CONSULATE-GENERAL,

NEW YORK, July 1, 1895.

Dear Sir.—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 28th ultimo, and desire to inform you that I cannot vise your passport. You must get permission from the ministry of the interior at St. Petersburg to visit Russia before I can vise your passport.

Herewith passport and postal note.

Respectfully,

A. E. OLAROWSKY,
Consul-General.

[*Mr. Adee to Mr. Peirce.*] [79]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 5, 1895.

Sir.—I have received your No. 91, of the 13th ultimo, reporting your interviews at the Russian foreign office in the matter of the refusal of Russian consular officers in the United States to vise the passports issued by this Government to its citizens of Jewish faith. Your conclusion that it is inexpedient to press the complaint to a formal answer at present appears to be discreet, but the Department must express its deep regret that you have encountered in the foreign office a reluctance to consider the matter in the light in which this Government has presented it. The Russian Government cannot expect that its course in asserting inquisitorial authority in the United States over citizens of the United States as to their religious or civil status can ever be acceptable or even tolerable to such a Government as ours, and continuance in such a course after our views have been clearly but considerately made known may trench upon the just limits of consideration.

I must, however, caution you against any suggestion of retaliatory or resentful action on our part. A due sense of national dignity constrains this Government to avoid all appearance of a miniatory policy in its dealings with other powers. In this matter, especially, it is to be borne in mind that each Government is the judge for itself, of the extent to which foreign consuls may be permitted to act under their own laws within its territories,

[78] Foreign Relations, 1895, p. 61.

[79] Foreign Relations, 1895, page 1059.

and that such permission is determined by the corresponding exequatur.

The United States conspicuously illustrate their convictions on this subject in relation to their own consuls. The custom laws of the United States require the administration of a consular oath to exporters presenting manifests of goods for certification; but upon the representations of certain European Governments, among them Great Britain and Germany, that the administration of such oath by a foreign consul to a subject of the country is an invasion of the judicial independence thereof, our consuls have been enjoined to refrain from the act complained of in all cases affecting a subject of a sovereign of the country where they reside. It might, however, have been deemed entirely competent for the Governments of Great Britain and Germany to insert in the consular exequatur an express inhibition of the obnoxious act.

I am, etc.,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Acting Secretary.

Shortly after, Mr. Breckinridge sent a dispatch to Baron Osten-Sacken, in which he quoted certain constitutional provisions and to which he received a reply: "As to the American constitution, I must confess that it seems to be here beside the question."

The following statement from the public press furnishes the latest information attainable on the passport question:

Steps to secure recognition by Russia of the passports of American Jews were taken yesterday by a committee of Congressmen, which has been in communication with Secretary Hay in regard to the matter. Chairman Wachter, of this committee, has received a statement from the Secretary of State, who says that negotiations are still pending.

The committee is composed of Representative Wachter, Representative Harrison, and Representative Goldfogle, of New York; Representative Lucking, of Michigan; Representative Bell, of California, and Representative Roberts, of Massachusetts. A meeting was held yesterday in the room of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, at which was read Secretary Hay's statement, made in reply to a letter from the committee asking for information regarding the carrying out of a resolution introduced some

time ago by Mr. Goldfogle, with a view to bettering, through the State Department, the condition of American Jews in Russia. Secretary Hay's statement is as follows:

SECRETARY HAY'S STATEMENT.

I have had the honor to receive your letter of February 6, requesting to be informed whether correspondence has been held through the American Ambassador, at St. Petersburg since January 3, 1904, regarding United States passports held by citizens of Jewish faith; whether instructions were forwarded to our representatives in Russia on the subject; if so, whether such instructions were presented by the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg to the Russian government or to any official thereof; and whether any reply or response was made by the Russian Government to the State Department or to the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg. You also ask for a copy of the correspondence so indicated.

On July 1, 1904, I communicated to the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg the text of the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives on the 21st of April last, whereby the President was requested to renew negotiations with the governments of the countries where discrimination is made between American citizens on the ground of religious faith or belief to secure by treaty or otherwise uniformity of treatment and protection to American citizens holding passports issued by the authorities of the United States, in order that all American citizens shall have equal freedom of travel and sojourn in these countries, without regard to race, creed, or religious faith. Mr. McCormick was instructed that the resolution of the House of Representatives was sent to him for his information and guidance in interpreting this expression of the feeling of the people of this country through their direct representatives as to the treatment of the citizens in question. In that instruction I said:

DIPLOMATS WERE INSTRUCTED.

"You will make known to his excellency the views of this government as to the expediency of putting an end to such discrimination between different classes of American citizens on account of their religious faith when seeking to avail themselves of the common privileges of civilized peoples to visit other friendly countries for business or travel.

"That such discriminatory treatment is naturally a matter of much concern to this government is a proposition which his ex-

cellency will readily comprehend without dissent. In no other country in the world is this class of discrimination applied to our visiting citizens. That the benefits accruing to Russia are sufficient to counterbalance the inconveniences involved is open to question from a practical standpoint. In the view of the President it is not easy to discern the compensating advantages to the Russian government in the exclusion of a class of tourists and men of business whose character and position in life are such as to afford in most cases a guaranty against any abuse of the hospitality of Russia, and whose intelligence and sterling moral qualities fit them to be typical representatives of our people and entitle them to win for themselves abroad no less degree of esteem than they enjoy in their own land."

MR. M'CORMICK'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. McCormick communicated the resolution and the purport of my instruction to Count Lamsdorff on the 25th of August, 1904, in a personal interview, at which he left with the minister a note reciting the resolution of the House of Representatives and setting forth in clear detail the views of this government in the matter.

At that interview Count Lamsdorff limited himself to commenting upon the difficulties which his government encountered in dealing with such a question as was then presented, for which difficulties the imperial government was seeking a solution.

Subsequently, on September 21, 1904, Count Lamsdorff replied to Mr. McCormick's note, saying that it was with special interest he had become acquainted with the considerations therein expressed relative to certain facilities to be granted to American citizens of Hebrew faith with regard to their entry into Russia, and adding that a special commission had been instituted by supreme order on December 17, 1903, with the ministry of the interior in view of generally revising the passport regulations actually in force.

DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN ACTIVE.

Count Lamsdorff further stated that the imperial ministry of foreign affairs having appointed their representative with that commission he would not fail to bring, through such intermediary, to the knowledge of that commission the ambassador's views on the subject, and the desire of the Federal Government, of which the ambassador is the interpreter.

Since then no further communication in regard to this specific

question has been made to the American Embassy by the Russian Government, but the ambassador has advised the department from time to time to the extent to which the investigating commissions have directed their attention to the domestic problem of the status and treatment of Jews in Russia.

Following the department's rule of not making public correspondence of this nature by printing its text during the pendency of negotiations, I do not at present communicate in full, as desired. I have, however, stated its purport and the present situation with sufficient fullness to answer the three inquiries propounded in your letter.

FINAL ACTION ON TUESDAY.

The committee was in session nearly all the afternoon. Some of its members had written to Secretary Hay asking what had been done, and Mr. Hay's reply was the subject of discussion. The action to be decided upon will be taken at the next meeting of the committee on Tuesday.

The committee is to be enlarged by the addition of two more Republican Congressmen, so as to emphasize the fact that the movement is a non-partisan one. At present, Chairman Wachter and Mr. Roberts are the only Republicans on it. Mr. Wachter said to-day that a great many applications had been received for membership, but that the committee was after results, and considered that the best way to attain them would be to secure unanimity of counsel and unanimity of action, which would be difficult if the movement were placed under the direction of a large body of men.

"I want one thing clearly understood," he added. "Attempts have been made before to secure action in this matter, and they have generally ended with a letter informing those who applied that nothing could be done. It isn't going to be done that way this time. We are out for business, and we mean to keep pounding away until something happens."

The correspondence over the Kishineff petition is, also, too recent to require any statement here, except to say that, though not received formally by the Russian authorities, it, nevertheless, forms part of the official correspondence of the United States. Its transmission was due to the humanitarian diplomacy of President Roosevelt. Those who are especially interested in the petition and in the attitude of the

Government and people of the United States toward it are referred to the two following volumes:

Brief History of the Kischineff Petition together with classification, analysis and list of signatures thereto. Prepared by the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and Being a part of the Report of the Executive Committee of the Order for 1902-3.

The Voice of America on Kischineff. Edited by Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1904.

PERSIA.

The Persian correspondence is meagre. On May 17, 1897, Mr. McDonald wrote to Secretary Sherman that he had interposed unofficially in behalf of the Jews of the city of Teheran, who were being subject to mob outrages by the Mohammedans. He reported that he had told the chief of the Shah's ministers that without any authority in the matter, he had come to him in the interest of humanity to ask that immediate steps be taken for the protection of the assaulted people. That they were a race without a country or government of their own to defend them. That they were as a whole harmless and inoffensive, and in the emergency he felt like speaking strongly for them in behalf of his government and his country, where so many were domiciled. This personal interview does not seem to have resulted satisfactorily, for on the same day Mr. McDonald sent a letter to the Shah's chief minister in which he again recited the facts.

[*Mr. McDonald to Amine-ed-Dowlah.*] [80]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
May 17, 1897.

Your Excellency.—In the conversation which I had with you yesterday morning I was given to understand that the persecution and ill treatment which was being inflicted upon the Jews

[80] Foreign Relations, 1897, page 430.

had ceased. I regret to state to you, however, that I have just been informed that there has been a renewal of the maltreatment, and that many have been subjected to ill-usage and indignities, while the government ferashes (police) sent, I presume, to restore order have forcibly taken money, and left without effecting anything for the preservation of the peace of the district. I have not the remotest desire to interfere or to make any suggestions as to the administration of the affairs of this city, but from motives of humanity and of sympathy with those who are called upon to suffer, I appeal to you to put an end to this molestation and interference with the liberties of this loyal, intelligent and industrious section of His Majesty's subjects.

ALEX. MCDONALD.

[*Mr. McDonald to Mr. Sherman.*] [81]

UNITED STATES LEGATION FOR PERSIA,

TEHERAN, May 20, 1897.

Sir.—In continuation of my dispatch No. 295, I have the honor to inclose a later note to the Amine-ed-Dowlah, concerning the outrages on the Jews, since which I believe matters have quieted down, as I hear of no further disturbances. I have taken greater interest in this matter because the American missionaries have schools in the Jewish quarter and are greatly interested in them.

ALEX. MCDONALD.

[*Mr. Sherman to Mr. McDonald.*] [82]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 8, 1897.

Sir.—Your dispatches Nos. 294 and 296, dated respectively, May 17 and 20 last, in which you report that you have tendered your good offices in behalf of the Jews of Teheran who were being subjected to mob violence at the hands of the Mohammedans of that place, have been received.

In reply I have to say that your good offices in this somewhat delicate question seem to have been discreetly used in the interest of common humanity and in accordance with the precepts of civilization.

JOHN SHERMAN.

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[81] Foreign Relations, 1897, page 430.

[82] Foreign Relations, 1897, page 431.

I fully realize how inadequate has been this summary of the large amount of material brought together, but there is enough and probably more than enough to prove that since the days of Martin Van Buren, the United States Government has, so far as the Jews are concerned, stood steadfastly to two propositions, first, to insist with whatever moral force it possessed upon the equal treatment of all American citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and, second, to indicate to foreign Governments in which there were either proscriptive laws against the Jews or in which violence was practiced, that such action was viewed with disfavor by the Government and people of this country and was contrary to the best interests of any nation, and to the principles of humanity prevailing throughout the civilized world.

To those nations among whom these principles do not prevail a singular warning is conveyed in the following dispatch.

[*Mr. Blaine to Mr. Fairchild.*] [83]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 8, 1881.

Sir.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 164, by which you apprise me of a recent offer of protection extended by the Government of His Majesty the King of Spain to persons of the Jewish race in Germany and Russia, who had originally appealed for such protection to foreign representatives at Constantinople; and, in reply, to request that you will profit by the first suitable occasion to convey to the Spanish Government an expression of the lively satisfaction which has attended the reception of this intelligence by the Government of the United States.

The liberal and humane spirit which has inspired this act of noble hospitality is naturally appreciated by the people of this country the laws of which are based on the same enlightened sentiment, and extend alike protection to the oppressed of every race, faith, and condition from whatever country they may come.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

It will be recalled that Spain expelled the Jews from her dominions in 1492.

[83] Foreign Relations, 1881, page 1059.

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